

# STUDIES IN MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATION

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5. THE ILLUSTRATION OF  
THE HEAVENLY LADDER OF JOHN CLIMACUS  
BY JOHN RUPERT MARTIN

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THE ILLUSTRATION  
OF  
THE HEAVENLY LADDER  
OF JOHN CLIMACUS

By John Rupert Martin

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## PREFACE

IN 1942 Mr. Robert Garrett of Baltimore donated his splendid collection of manuscripts to Princeton University. Included in that gift was a handsome Greek codex of the *Heavenly Ladder* by John Climacus of Sinai, written in the year 1081 and illustrated with delicate marginal miniatures. The presence in this university of so fine an illuminated manuscript prompted me, after the war, to undertake an investigation of the whole subject of Climax illustration, the results of which I submitted as a doctoral dissertation in 1947. Since that time I have been able to examine many of the other manuscripts here discussed, including those in the Vatican Library, the Marciana in Venice, and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. I have not, to my great regret, seen codex gr. 418 and the other manuscripts in the monastery at Mount Sinai, nor those in the monastic libraries of Mount Athos. For the former I have used the photographs made in 1950 by the joint American-Egyptian expedition to Sinai. The photographs of the Athos manuscripts are those taken by Professor Weitzmann during his several visits to the Holy Mountain. I have also had the privilege of consulting his notes on these and other illustrated manuscripts. A few monuments are cited of which no published illustrations exist; photographs of these works are on file in the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University.

The nature of this study has made it necessary to include extensive translations from the Greek. Where Biblical quotations are concerned, I have wherever possible used the King James Version; Psalms are numbered, however, according to the system of the Septuagint. In translating other texts, I have endeavored, not always successfully, I fear, to imitate the Jacobean style of the Scriptural passages. I trust that my shortcomings in the precise rendering of mediaeval Greek will be forgiven me by those more competent in this matter than I.

Whatever merit this book may have is due in large measure to the assistance and cooperation I have received from my colleagues in the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton. It is a pleasure, first of all, to record my gratitude to Professor Kurt Weitzmann, under whose supervision this work was initially undertaken, and to whose thorough and discerning scholarship I owe more than I can say. He has also been kind enough to read the entire final draft. Professor Charles Rufus Morey, whose own sketch of Climax illustration served to kindle my enthusiasm for the subject, was characteristically helpful in obtaining necessary photographs. Professor Albert M. Friend, Jr., offered many valuable suggestions, encouraging me, among other things, to investigate further the significance of Symeon the New Theologian.

## PREFACE

I wish also to thank the following, for providing photographs and facilitating my study of the manuscripts in their care: Mgr. Anselmo Albareda, Prefect, and Mgr. Robert Devreesse, formerly Vice-Prefect, of the Vatican Library; M. Jean Porcher, Conservateur des Manuscrits in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; Signor Pietro Zorzanello, formerly Director of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice; Mgr. Giovanni Galbiati, Director of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan; and Mr. Archibald G. Wenley, Director of the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington. Miss Alison Frantz, of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, very kindly supplied photographs of manuscripts in that city.

I have been greatly aided in my studies by grants from the Spears Fund and the Research Fund of Princeton University. The photographs of the Princeton Climax manuscript were made expressly for this publication by the Meriden Gravure Company, for whose thoughtful and efficient service I should like to express my gratitude.

J.R.M.

*Princeton, New Jersey*  
*June 1953*

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THE ILLUSTRATION  
OF THE HEAVENLY LADDER  
OF JOHN CLIMACUS





## INTRODUCTION

THIS study is devoted primarily to a consideration of the illustrated manuscripts of the *Heavenly Ladder*. Its broader purpose, however, is to shed more light on the problem of scenes from the monastic life in Byzantine art. The interest in this subject becomes especially marked, as I hope to show, in the eleventh century. Perhaps owing to a seeming scarcity of evidence, the fund of monastic iconography in Byzantine art has not been fully exploited. As compared to Biblical illustration the volume of monastic art is certainly not very large; much of it, moreover, has doubtless been lost. But careful study of the available monuments nevertheless leads one to the conclusion that the ascetic tradition was a vital one. Grabar has shown<sup>1</sup> how imperial iconography was created to enhance the power of the emperor; so, we may imagine, did monastic art serve to keep alive the ideals of asceticism, even, at times, in the face of imperial opposition.

It is difficult to gauge the importance of monastic illustration during the tenth century, because the few surviving illustrated manuscripts of that period can provide, at best, only an incomplete picture of the whole range of artistic production. It is probable that the tenth century created little that can be termed monastic art: what evidence we have suggests that the ascetic tradition must have been largely submerged under the weight of the classicism of the "Macedonian Renaissance." But the succeeding century saw it restored to new and vigorous life. The resurgence of monastic iconography at this time can nowhere be observed more clearly than in the illustrated Climax manuscripts.

These manuscripts fall into three principal categories. There are, first, the very numerous examples, some as early as the tenth century, having only one or two miniatures. The second and more important category is made up of manuscripts with full cycles of illustrations; these, ranging in date from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, are relatively few in number, a circumstance that has made it possible to examine them in detail without too great prolixity. It is the second group which, as beginning in the eleventh century, forms the main subject of this study.

There remains a third group of manuscripts containing an illustrated "penitential canon"—a versified text freely derived from the fifth chapter of the *Heavenly Ladder*. They belong, it is true, to a period later than that which chiefly concerns us, but surely owe their inspiration to the development of Climax iconography in the eleventh century.

The spirit of originality encountered in the Climax illustrations is strikingly at variance with the notion of the traditionalism of Byzantine art. It

<sup>1</sup> A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin; recherches sur l'art officiel de l'empire d'orient*, Paris, 1936.

## INTRODUCTION

is of course generally recognized today that Byzantine art was not merely the endless process of sterile and unimaginative copying that it was once held to be. The legend of its total immutability stems from the tradition of Biblical illustration, where the tendency to follow established iconographic formulae was most pronounced. The real inventiveness of the Byzantine artist is to be looked for in the illustration of patristic, rather than of Scriptural, texts. Here there existed no canonical body of standardized iconography, and here, consequently, his talents for improvisation were given fuller play.

Perhaps even more than the written word, the illustrations of the Climax provide an insight into the psychology of asceticism. This is at once apparent in the reactions that they have evoked from certain modern students, to whom monkish ideals must seem alien and perverted. Tikkanen looked on the Penitential Canon with something like distaste, finding in it proof of the "negative morality" of monasticism.<sup>2</sup> And A. B. Cook, examining one of the miniatures of a Climax manuscript, was moved to remark that "the Church's idea of Life has often borne a suspicious resemblance to the world's idea of Death."<sup>3</sup> The power of the icon to create an emotional response in the observer has evidently not diminished.

Asceticism, however we may regard it today, is a phenomenon no less human than other forms of religious experience. Its ideals were upheld, not, as is sometimes thought, by mean and limited minds, but by some of the greatest personalities of the Middle Ages. It has left its record in an extensive body of literature and in numerous works of art. For an understanding of its significance our best source is the illustrated book, where words and pictures are brought together.

<sup>2</sup> J. J. Tikkanen, "Eine illustrierte Klimax-Handschrift der Vatikanischen Bibliothek," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, XIX, 1890, no. 2, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> A. B. Cook, *Zeus; a Study in Ancient Religion*, Cambridge, 1914-40, II, p. 868.

## I. THE TEXT

THE *Heavenly Ladder* (Κλίμαξ θείας ἀνόδου) was written by St. John, Abbot of Mount Sinai, probably about the close of the sixth century. The author is usually styled John Climacus (a name derived from the Greek Ἰωάννης ὁ τῆς κλίμακος: John, the author of the Ladder). The information concerning him is so scanty as to leave some uncertainty even as to the date of his life. The principal source is the brief biography, perhaps almost contemporary, by the monk Daniel of Raithu, the title of which describes him as John Scholasticus.<sup>1</sup> From this source we learn that at the age of sixteen he entered the monastery of Mount Sinai. After a period of cenobitic life he retired to a place of solitude and dwelt for forty years as an anchorite. He was at length prevailed upon to become abbot of the monastery, which office he held only a short time until his death.

Additional details are provided by the *Narratives* (Διηγήσεις) of Anastasius of Sinai,<sup>2</sup> which relate that the youthful St. John was tonsured during the abbacy of a certain Anastasius (not the author of the *Narratives*). Nau, who edited these accounts, identified the Abbot Anastasius as the later patriarch of Antioch (599-610), and from other details in the text set the date of John Climacus' death at about 650.<sup>3</sup> Nau's arguments were rejected by Beneshevich,<sup>4</sup> who believed the Abbot Anastasius in question to have been an earlier personage whose tenure of office commenced before 552. Beneshevich concluded that John Climacus was himself abbot of Sinai from 592 to 596, a date more in accordance with the traditionally accepted chronology. A further attempt to fill the lacunae in the saint's history was made by Petit, who proposed that he be identified with a monk known in other writings as John Scholasticus or John Rhetor.<sup>5</sup> The disadvantage of this hypothesis is that it involves the assumption that St. John had been married before embracing the ascetic life, which is not only unlikely, but directly contradicts the evidence of the biography by Daniel of Raithu.

The *Heavenly Ladder* is said to have been composed at the instance of another Abbot John, head of the monastery of Raithu,<sup>6</sup> whom Climacus addresses in the second person throughout. The correspondence between the two

<sup>1</sup> J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, Paris, 1857-66, LXXXVIII, cols. 596-608.

<sup>2</sup> F. Nau, "Le texte grec des récits du moine Anastase sur les saints pères du Sinai," *Oriens Christianus*, II, 1902, pp. 58-89. Cf. also Migne, *op.cit.*, cols. 608-609.

<sup>3</sup> F. Nau, "Note sur la date de la mort de S. Jean Climaque," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XI, 1902, pp. 35-37.

<sup>4</sup> V. Beneshevich, "Sur la date de la mosaïque de la Transfiguration au Mont Sinai," *Byzantion*, I, 1924, pp. 145ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, VIII, cols. 690ff., s.v. "Jean Climaque."

<sup>6</sup> Probably to be identified with the locality known today as Tor, which is situated on the Gulf of Suez near the southern tip of the Peninsula of Sinai.

abbots, containing John of Raithu's request and John Climacus' acquiescence, forms part of the preface of the work.<sup>7</sup> Although designed specifically for the monks of Raithu, it found a much larger audience in Greek monastic communities, and became certainly the most widely read of all ascetic writings. This is attested by the numerous extant copies of the treatise, and by the copious scholia which have attached themselves to it. The Triodion of the Greek Orthodox Church still specifies that selections from the Climax are to be read during Lent.<sup>8</sup>

There has been no critical study of the text of the *Heavenly Ladder*. The *editio princeps*, still in use, is that of the Jesuit scholar Matthaeus Raderus (Rader), Paris, 1633, which is reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.<sup>9</sup> Raderus used eight manuscripts as his chief sources.<sup>10</sup> Seven of these are now in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich: the Greek codices 25, 114, 297, and 316 (formerly numbers LXXXIV, LXXXVI, LXXXVII, and CXIV of the Herzogliche Bibliothek, Munich) and codices 420, 440, and 428 (formerly numbers LIII, LIV, and LV of the Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg);<sup>11</sup> the eighth manuscript was loaned to him by Andreas Schott of Antwerp. The text of the work appears to have been quite faithfully transmitted, for manuscripts show relatively few variant readings and are in tolerable agreement with Raderus' version. Although his edition would hardly meet the requirements of modern textual criticism, it may nevertheless be regarded as reasonably accurate. There exists also a more recent edition, published in Constantinople in 1883, but its purpose is apparently edifying rather than critical.<sup>12</sup>

Early copies of the *Heavenly Ladder* are rare; I know of none that antedates the ninth century. The work was translated into many languages, one of the oldest manuscripts in any tongue being a Syriac codex in the British Museum (Add. MS 14593), which was written in Edessa and bears the date 817.<sup>13</sup> A Latin translation was made at least as early as the thirteenth century, and there are copies in Arabic, Armenian, and Russian.<sup>14</sup> A Latin

<sup>7</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, cols. 624-628.

<sup>8</sup> M. I. Saliberos (ed.), Τριώδιον, Athens, n.d., pp. 75, 78. See also H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 82f.

<sup>9</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, cols. 632-1161.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, cols. 621-622.

<sup>11</sup> For the present location and signatures of these manuscripts I am indebted to a communication from Professor Albert Boeckler of Munich.

<sup>12</sup> Edited by Sophronios Eremites. Petit pronounces this edition "supérieure sous certains rapports à celle de Raderus-Migne" (*Dict. de théol. cath.*, VIII, col. 692).

<sup>13</sup> W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1870-72, part II, pp. 590f. The manuscript contains only ornamental decoration. Cf. W. Stasoff, *L'ornement slave et oriental*, St. Petersburg, 1887, pl. CXXVIII, nos. 1-2; and M. A. Frantz, "Byzantine Illuminated Ornament," *Art Bulletin*, XVI, 1934, pl. XXIV, no. 8.

<sup>14</sup> K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2nd edition, Munich, 1897, p. 144.

edition was published at Venice in 1518. Among the first books printed in America was a Spanish edition of the Climax, published in Mexico in the sixteenth century under the title *Escala spiritual de San Juan Climaco*.<sup>15</sup> The work was translated into English by a Cistercian father as late as 1858.<sup>16</sup>

The *Heavenly Ladder* does not differ notably in subject matter from the considerable body of related ascetic literature in the Greek Patrology. For the modern reader it may have little charm, the subject being remote, and the literary style frequently involved and without much grace of expression. But the distinctive feature of the work, which accounts for its special popularity, is the very graphic concept of the ladder, offering to the zealous monk a sure means of ascent to heaven. This imagery is of course not the invention of John Climacus; as an allegory of spiritual improvement it was known long before Christianity. A. B. Cook, in his monumental study of myth and ritual concerning Zeus, has assembled numerous ancient references to the "soul-ladder."<sup>17</sup> The ladder as a mystic symbol enjoyed a long tradition in Egypt. It appears at an early date in the pyramid texts,<sup>18</sup> and persists even down to Coptic times.<sup>19</sup> The ladder-image became a favorite literary device with Christian writers: John Chrysostom<sup>20</sup> speaks of a ladder by which one mounts from earth to heaven, and Theodoret<sup>21</sup> employs a similar metaphor to describe the progress toward perfection made by the monks of Syria.

But the real contribution of John Climacus was the transformation of this imagery from a vague allegory of advancement into a spiritual exercise of great psychological power, by identifying each step with a particular and positive achievement. The work was inspired by the Biblical account of Jacob's ladder (Gen. 28:10ff.), a fact acknowledged both by the author himself<sup>22</sup> and in more concrete terms by John of Raithu: "For if Jacob, while he watched over his sheep, saw so wondrous a vision on the ladder, shall not he who is set over rational creatures show forth unto all not only a vision, but a way leading unerringly up to God in deed and truth?"<sup>23</sup>

Another Biblical allusion arises from the fact that John Climacus, living at Sinai, became as it were a second Moses, by ascending that mountain to

<sup>15</sup> Cf. H. R. Wagner, *Nueva bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI*, Mexico, 1940, pp. 5-8, 508.

<sup>16</sup> *The Holy Ladder of Perfection by St. John Climacus* (translated by Father Robert, Mount St. Bernard's Abbey), London, 1858.

<sup>17</sup> A. B. Cook, *Zeus; a Study in Ancient Religion*, Cambridge, 1914-40, II, pp. 121-140.

<sup>18</sup> H. P. Blok, "Zur altägyptischen Vorstellung der Himmelsleiter," *Acta Orientalia*, VI, 1927-28, pp. 257ff.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. G. Michailides, "Echelle mystique chrétienne dessinée sur lin," *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*, XI, 1945.

<sup>20</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, LIX, cols. 454-455.

<sup>21</sup> *idem*, *P.G.*, LXXXII, col. 1484C. <sup>22</sup> *idem*, *P.G.*, LXXXVIII, cols. 840D and 1160C.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*, col. 625A-B. This passage was pointed out by C. R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, New York, 1914, p. 18.



## THE TEXT

receive instruction from God. This is expressly stated both by the monk Daniel<sup>24</sup> and by John of Raithu.<sup>25</sup> The author himself, moreover, speaks of the "spiritual tablets" on which his work is written, obviously with reference to the tables of the law given to Moses.<sup>26</sup>

The treatise consists of thirty chapters, which are conceived of as rungs in a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, the number being explained as symbolic of the thirty years of the "hidden life" of Christ.<sup>27</sup> The underlying idea is thus that the monk, through the observance of these precepts, may come "unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ." The titles of the thirty rungs are listed in the table below. The first three chapters form a kind of introduction, setting forth the prerequisite conditions of the religious state: renunciation of wordly life, dispassionateness, and pilgrimage from the world. Chapters iv through xxv contain discussions of the virtues which the monk must cultivate and of the vices which he must banish from himself; these include, on the one hand, such qualities as obedience, penitence, and humility, and on the other, falsehood, avarice, vainglory, etc. Chapter xxvi concerns discretion, a virtue indispensable to the monk in his struggle against evil. The twenty-seventh homily is a lengthy eulogy of solitude, which as opposed to the cenobitic life is clearly regarded by the author as the superior monastic state, although he warns against embarking upon it without prior training in the discipline of the religious community. Then follows a chapter on prayer. The twenty-ninth step is tranquillity, on which the monk, having stripped off the desires and temptations of the flesh, is able to give himself wholly to contemplation. Having mounted thus far, he is now prepared to join the Pauline trinity of faith, hope, and charity on the topmost rung and thus to attain perfection.

In addition to the text of the *Heavenly Ladder*, most manuscripts also contain the correspondence between John of Raithu and the author; the *Vita* of John Climacus by Daniel of Raithu; an anonymous preface;<sup>28</sup> and the *Homily to the Pastor* (λόγος πρὸς τὸν ποιμένα), the last being a brief treatise likewise addressed by St. John to the abbot of Raithu.<sup>29</sup>

## THE RUNGS OF THE HEAVENLY LADDER

I. Περὶ ἀποταγῆς βίου	On renunciation of life
II. Περὶ ἀπροσπαθείας	On dispassionateness
III. Περὶ ξεντείας	On pilgrimage
Περὶ ἐνυπνίων	On dreams
IV. Περὶ ὑπακοῆς	On obedience
V. Περὶ μετανοίας	On penitence

<sup>24</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 605.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1161A.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, col. 624B.

<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*, col. 628C-D.

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, cols. 632C-633A.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, cols. 1165-1208.

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VI. Περὶ μνήμης θανάτου	On remembrance of death
VII. Περὶ πένθους	On sorrow
VIII. Περὶ ἀοργησίας καὶ πραότητος	On placidity and meekness
IX. Περὶ μνησικακίας	On malice
X. Περὶ καταλαλιᾶς	On slander
XI. Περὶ πολυλογίας καὶ σιωπῆς	On talkativeness and silence
XII. Περὶ ψεύδους	On falsehood
XIII. Περὶ ἀκηδίας	On sloth
XIV. Περὶ γαστριμαργίας	On gluttony
XV. Περὶ ἀγνείας καὶ σωφροσύνης	On chastity and temperance
XVI. Περὶ φιλαργυρίας	On avarice
XVII. Περὶ ἀκτημοσύνης	On poverty
XVIII. Περὶ ἀναισθησίας	On insensibility
XIX. Περὶ ὕπνου, προσευχῆς, καὶ ψαλμωδίας	On sleep, prayer, and psalm- singing
XX. Περὶ ἀγρυπνίας	On wakefulness
XXI. Περὶ δειλίας	On timidity
XXII. Περὶ κευδοξίας	On vainglory
XXIII. Περὶ ὑπερηφανίας Περὶ βλασφημίας	On pride On blasphemy
XXIV. Περὶ πραότητος, καὶ ἀπλότητος, καὶ ἀκακίας, καὶ πονηρίας	On meekness, simplicity, guile- lessness, and wickedness
XXV. Περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης	On humility
XXVI. Περὶ διακρίσεως	On discretion
XXVII. Περὶ ἡσυχίας	On solitude
XXVIII. Περὶ προσευχῆς	On prayer
XXIX. Περὶ ἀπαθείας	On tranquillity
XXX. Περὶ πίστεως, ἐλπίδος, καὶ ἀγάπης	On faith, hope, and charity

For the chapter-titles, I have in general followed the edition in Migne in employing the shortest intelligible form. It should be noted, however, that the manuscripts show wide variations in the wording of these rubrics, some preferring a terse and others a more elaborate description of each step.

## II. THE PICTURE OF THE HEAVENLY LADDER AND THE PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR

**B**EFORE we enter upon a discussion of the cyclic illustration of the Climax, it will be convenient first to examine the two most common pictures—the heavenly ladder and the portrait of the author.

### A. THE HEAVENLY LADDER

The very element in the work that gripped the imagination of its readers was also eminently suitable for illustration. For beneath the author's concern with abstract spiritual qualities, subjects almost devoid of artistic inspiration to the Greek mind, lay the easily rendered theme of the ladder, of which an impressive image could be devised even by an artist of modest capabilities. Thus it is that many Climax manuscripts contain at least a miniature of the heavenly ladder, placed either at the beginning or at the end of the text.

Perhaps the oldest copy with pictures is Sinai gr. 417, of the tenth century. On fol. 13<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 2) there is represented, at the left, an ornamented ladder, the rungs of which are numbered from top to bottom; the same page bears a schematic, diagonal flight of steps, numbered in the same fashion. In this simple form of decoration, where the sequence of chapters follows the normal, downward progression suggested by lines of writing, it is quite possible that we have to do with the earliest tradition of Climax illustration. The same codex has a second miniature of a ladder (Fig. 3) enclosed within two columns topped by an arch, somewhat after the manner of the architectural canon-tables in gospel books. The drawing of Christ on the uppermost rung is a later embellishment.

A more sophisticated method of decoration appears in other manuscripts, some of which are only slightly later than Sinai gr. 417. The single miniature in Paris gr. 1069, a South Italian manuscript of the late tenth century, will serve as an example (Fig. 5). Once again the ladder is presented in schematic form, its broad sides bearing an interlace pattern; the tiny figures of the monk and Christ at the top are a later addition. The ladder here becomes an integral part of the table of contents on the opposite leaf, the rungs corresponding exactly to the individual chapter-titles. The significant feature, however, is that the ladder-image has actually determined the arrangement of the table of contents, for the chapter-titles are numbered in reverse sequence from bottom to top, contrary to the system employed in Sinai gr. 417. This more graphic method of illustration is found in numerous manuscripts, a few of which may be mentioned here: Ivron 415, of the year 985 (Fig. 6), Coislin 265, of the year 1037 (Fig. 7), and, as a late example,



Laura A 73, of the fifteenth century (Fig. 8). In the last-named the scribe has provided inscriptions as an additional convenience; beside the first rung he has written ἡ ἀρχή (the start); opposite the fifteenth, ἡ μεσότης (the mid-point); and at the top, ἡ τελειότης (the finish).

In other codices the notion of ascent to heaven is made even more explicit by the inclusion of Christ at the head of the ladder. Thus, for example, the Lord is shown in half-length in Vat. Chis. gr. R IV 7, an Italian manuscript of the tenth century (Fig. 9); the nimbus is inscribed ζωή (life). In the fourteenth-century codex G 20 sup. of the Ambrosian Library in Milan (Fig. 11) the bust of Christ appears within a medallion. A similar illustration, but with the further addition of a company of monks, decorates the table of contents in the eleventh-century manuscript in Princeton (Fig. 31). Here, however, Christ extends his arms to the sides in a gesture that clearly implies welcome, whereas in the two preceding examples he holds a closed scroll and raises his right hand in the sign of benediction.

All of these examples, and many more too numerous to cite, are alike in picturing the ladder in simple, almost schematic form. But there exists also a much more complex representation of the heavenly ladder, which is made to serve not as a mere symbolic diagram, but as an independent, full-page composition. Though the scene is not always identical as to every detail, it is clear that beneath its many variations there lies a common pictorial basis. The type is exemplified by Stauronikita 50, a manuscript of the fourteenth century (Fig. 133). The heavenly ladder—and this is the distinctive feature—extends diagonally across the picture; at its foot stands the author, holding a scroll and addressing a group of monks at his side. At intervals along the ladder to which he points are four monks climbing heavenward. Christ leans down from above to assist the topmost figure as he nears his goal. Two others have lost their footing and are falling into the mouth of a dragon lurking in the cave below.

Stauronikita 50, despite its later date, probably preserves the original iconography in its purest form. In the illustrations of other manuscripts, additional elements are sometimes introduced. Vat. gr. 1754, of the twelfth or thirteenth century (Fig. 238), shows the climbing figures beset by demons, who have succeeded in dislodging two of them. The demons also appear in the sadly ruined miniature in the twelfth-century codex Paris gr. 1158 (Fig. 12), of which only the gold ground remains intact. The author is seen at the upper left holding an open scroll. He is identified by an inscription: ὁ ἅγιος ὁ τῆς κλίμακο(ς); another beneath him reads: ὁ ἄγιος ἰω(άννης). At the lower left is a group of monks. A climbing monk is being dragged by three demons from the ladder, at the top of which is Christ in a blue segment of heaven. The lower right corner is occupied by a cave, of which vir-

tually nothing remains; doubtless it originally contained a dragon. An inserted miniature (probably of the fourteenth century) in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 67) includes both angels and demons flanking the ladder, but no dragon at its base. The demons are likewise shown in Sinai gr. 427 (Fig. 293), a paper manuscript of the sixteenth or seventeenth century; the representation of the church at Sinai serves to localize the scene at the author's own monastery.

Occasionally the falling monks and the dragon are omitted, as we have seen in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 67). Even more simplified is the miniature in Moscow gr. 146 (Fig. 13) of the year 1285. Two monks are seen scaling a ladder of only nine rungs, which terminates in a large segment of heaven; the figure of Christ is no longer visible within it. Below, a rectangular edifice with gabled roof probably represents the monastery of Sinai. The author can be made out standing beside it, and three or four monks seem to be clustered in front of the door. Two more have been lightly sketched in outline over the lower portion of the ladder, seemingly by a later hand. A comparable abbreviation of the scene is offered by a loose page in the Freer Collection, of the twelfth century (Fig. 15). It shows two monks climbing, and the author standing before his monastery. The upper right corner, now torn away, originally contained the hand of God, of which one finger and the rays alone remain. The portion to the right of the ladder was colored a dark blue, most of which has now disappeared, revealing a fragmentary inscription  $\delta\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\kappa(\sigma)$ . A further variant is provided by Vatopedi 376, of the eleventh century (Fig. 17), which shows three climbing monks welcomed by Christ at the top of the ladder. A solitary angel is present, but there are neither falling monks, demons, nor dragon, and at the foot St. John stands alone. That even the author is not invariably present in the picture is proved by Sinai gr. 418, of the twelfth century (Fig. 179), where his place is, surprisingly, occupied by three persons in secular dress walking with outstretched arms toward the ladder; they are no doubt intended to represent would-be monks, eager to leave the world and begin the spiritual ascent. In other respects the miniature follows the usual iconography: demons assail the climbing monks, and Christ is seen in a medallion at the summit. The codex Coislin 263, dated 1059, is unique in the representation of a double ladder, with four monks ascending and one falling (Fig. 217); the artist—obviously a provincial craftsman—seems to have been driven to this expedient by the difficulty of delineating thirty steps within a single flight. A second miniature in this manuscript is similar (Fig. 218), but omits the figure of the Lord in the arc of heaven.

It is possible from these miniatures to postulate the existence of a common archetype. This original composition, which was probably a fresco or mosaic, must have represented monks scaling a diagonally placed ladder,

and John Climacus standing near its foot to exhort his listeners; at the peak was the figure of Christ, and below, a coiled dragon with jaws agape to swallow those who fell headlong from the rungs. These, we may be sure, were at least the principal components of the archetype. Whether it also included the angels and demons seen in certain miniatures, or whether these are merely subsequent enrichments of the composition, can hardly be determined.

It is now apparent that there are two separate traditions in the representation of the heavenly ladder: one consisting simply of a perpendicular ladder usually forming part of the table of contents; and the other a more ambitious illustration in scenic form. The distinction between the two traditions is, however, not always scrupulously observed, for there are examples in which features from the scenic composition have been incorporated in the simpler, diagrammatic picture. One of the most striking instances is the substitution of a diagonal for a vertical ladder in the table of contents of Coislin 88 (Fig. 19), a manuscript of the eleventh century. This curious feature is most easily explained as a "borrowing" from the fuller scene, with its characteristic diagonal ladder. Quite analogous is the angular placing of the ladder on the title-page of Coislin 262 (Fig. 20), a codex of the eleventh or twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> An exactly similar ladder (even to the verses written between the rungs) appears in the thirteenth-century manuscript Vatopedi 368 (Fig. 21); here, moreover, a later hand has attempted to approximate the scenic composition by inserting the hand of God, the author, and the climbing monks. Another fusion of the two traditions is seen in the Princeton Climax. The table of contents (Fig. 31), as already noted, presents the usual perpendicular ladder, only slightly elaborated by the inclusion of Christ and the author with his monks. A second miniature, however (Fig. 66), contains all the essential elements of the fuller scenic illustration, as it appears, for example, in Stauronikita 50 (Fig. 133). But the ladder remains uncompromisingly vertical, and its rungs still serve as a table of contents, each one being inscribed with the appropriate rubric. The two traditions are similarly blended in the title-miniature of Milan G 20 sup. (Fig. 10). The author, ὁ ὁσ(ιος) π(ατ)ῆρ ἡμ(ῶν) ἰω(άννης) ὁ τῆς κλίμακος, stands at the foot of a perpendicular ladder, which is identical to that in the table of contents in the same manuscript (Fig. 11). But that the artist had in mind the scenic composition is proved by the figure of the monk (almost effaced) commencing to climb the ladder. Finally, yet another fusion is illustrated by the fourteenth-century pen-drawing in Vienna theol. gr. 207 (Fig. 22); here the table of contents is made to form a second ladder set vertically in the center

<sup>1</sup> The table of contents of this manuscript (fol. 150<sup>v</sup>) is decorated with a schematic, vertical ladder of the type of Paris gr. 1069.

of the scene, a device that relieved the artist of the necessity of including all thirty rungs in the diagonal ladder.

The purely schematic ladder appears in manuscripts as early as the tenth century. There is, on the other hand, no evidence that the full-page scene of the climbing monks existed before the eleventh century: indeed the earliest surely dated examples are those in Coislin 263, of the year 1059 (Fig. 217), and the Princeton manuscript of 1081 (Fig. 66). This conclusion is further reinforced by Coislin 88, likewise of the eleventh century, in which, as we have already observed, the slanted position of the ladder (Fig. 19) seems clearly to reflect the influence of the newer, more up-to-date composition. It is significant, too, that a later hand has attempted to "modernize" the picture in Paris gr. 1069 by inserting the figures of the monk and Christ (Fig. 5).

Some space must now be given to considering the genesis of the scene of monks climbing the heavenly ladder. It is not difficult to see the ultimate derivation of the composition, which, like the theme of the text itself, takes as its starting-point the ladder beheld by Jacob, "with the angels of God ascending and descending upon it" (Gen. 28: 12). This becomes strikingly apparent when we turn to the scene of Jacob's vision in the manuscripts of the Octateuch. A characteristic example is found in Vat. gr. 747 (Fig. 294): it will be observed that the ladder, on which are three angels, reaches diagonally from earth to heaven, and that the half-figure of Christ appears in the arc at its head. That this derivation was recognized by the illustrators of Climax manuscripts is confirmed by the miniature in Sinai gr. 423, of the eleventh or twelfth century (Fig. 23), where the sleeping figure of Jacob,  $\delta \text{ } \iota \alpha \kappa \omega \beta$ , is actually shown at the foot, and two angels remain standing on the ladder to guide the monks. Of this picture it may further be noted that the vertical position of the ladder is due entirely to its being a marginal illustration, the narrow space making a diagonal arrangement impossible; but the pronounced slope of the rungs plainly reflects a model in which the ladder was slanted to the right.

There are certain elements in the ladder-scene, however, which can be accounted for neither by the derivation from Jacob's vision nor by any passage in the text of the *Heavenly Ladder* itself. The dragon, it is clear, must represent Hell, and the monks falling into his jaws those who have failed to elevate themselves above worldly pursuits. But in these very features the scene departs from literal illustration of the text, in which no such incidents are described. They conflict, moreover, with the conception expressed by the author, who certainly did not interpret the ascent as an invitation to potential destruction, but rather as a sure way to salvation. The picture, by contrast, has more universal significance, suggesting that the ladder is

symbolic not so much of progressive spiritual improvement, as of the Christian way of life, to fall from which is to be doomed. This gratuitous extension of the fundamental idea is surely the contribution of the artist who conceived the scene, intending to make of it a kind of moralizing commentary.

The dragon, furthermore, is not the traditional Byzantine symbol of Hell, which is usually represented in personified form by the figure of Hades, as in the scene of the Anastasis. But the dragon devouring the damned is a customary iconographic feature of the Last Judgment, a fact which suggests that this scene may be the source of the motif. A gospel book in Paris (Bibl. Nat., cod. gr. 74), of the eleventh or twelfth century, contains two miniatures of the Last Judgment;<sup>2</sup> in the first of these (Fig. 295) Hell is figured both by the person of Hades and by the dragon on which he sits. And the dragon, with its coiled, scaly body, is of the same genus as those in the Climax scenes (cf. Fig. 66).<sup>3</sup>

It is not unnatural that the influence of the Last Judgment should make itself felt in the scene of the heavenly ladder. The theme of salvation is common to both subjects, and the figure of Christ at the head of the ladder may easily have suggested the analogy to the Last Day, which needed only to be made complete by the addition of the devouring dragon. Our conclusion that the Climax scene was invented only in the eleventh century is thus not weakened by the likelihood that it was composed under the influence of the Last Judgment, which cannot be said to have been developed long before that time.

The affinity between the two scenes is borne out most strongly by the miniature in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 67), which, curiously enough, omits the dragon. The page, it may be noted, is not original, being either a replacement or an addition, probably of the fourteenth century. The central features of the composition remain unchanged: the monks strive to ascend the ladder, aided by angels on the one hand, and plagued on the other by demons, and at the side the author stands displaying his scroll. Beside the figure of Christ welcoming the climbers the Virgin stands to intercede for mankind. In a compartment at the upper left is a company of monks and

<sup>2</sup> H. Omont, *Evangelies avec peintures byzantines du XIe siècle*, Paris, n.d., pls. 41 and 81.

<sup>3</sup> The origin of the dragon as a Satanic symbol is perhaps to be traced to the Book of Job. A Job manuscript in the Vatican (Pal. gr. 230, fol. 229<sup>r</sup>) figures the leviathan of Chapter 40 as a coiled dragon, the word "leviathan" being rendered in the Septuagint as *δράκων*. In the commentary of Olympiodorus which normally accompanies the Biblical text in the Job manuscripts, the leviathan (or dragon) is explained as being a pseudonym for Satan (Migne, *P.G.*, xciii, col. 421A). This, and the mention of devil and dragon in Revelation 20: 2, may account for the presence of this creature in the Last Judgment. Mâle has outlined what appears to be a parallel process in western art: the dragon of the Last Judgment on the tympanum of Bourges, for example, is likewise, as he observes, to be derived from the leviathan of the Book of Job (E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*, Paris, 1923, pp. 384ff.).



bishops in Paradise, and below, in a cavern at the right, others are doomed to everlasting torment. The scene presents an unmistakable similarity to the Last Judgment of Paris gr. 74, and especially to its second occurrence in that manuscript,<sup>4</sup> where the dragon has likewise been omitted. It would appear that the miniaturist, struck by the resemblance of the ladder-scene to the Last Judgment, has thought to increase the likeness by borrowing further details from that composition.

In representing the figure of Christ at the head of the ladder, the miniaturists have followed two principal types. In the first, which may be exemplified by Stauronikita 50 (Fig. 133), the Lord leans forward from heaven to grasp the hand of the uppermost climber as he nears the top. Similar examples are to be found in Paris gr. 1158 (Fig. 12), Vienna theol. gr. 207 (Fig. 22), and Sinai gr. 427 (Fig. 293). This distinctive motif was surely derived from the scene of the Anastasis. The type is well illustrated in the Leningrad lectionary, cod. 21,<sup>5</sup> where the Lord takes the hand of Adam as he steps up from a sarcophagus. Virtually the same postures have been employed for Christ and the climbing monk in the Climax miniatures. The motif has, it is clear, been selected not only for formal reasons: the connotation of resurrection and deliverance from Hell is also appropriate in the context of the ladder scene. One variant of the Anastasis-type is to be noted. In the miniature in Sinai gr. 418 (Fig. 179) Christ grasps the hand of the ascending monk as in the examples cited above. But his frontal position, and the fact that he is shown within a medallion, clasping a book in his left hand, suggest that the artist also had in mind the more hieratic image of the Pantocrator.

The second principal Christ-type involves another conception than that of resurrection. The miniature on fol. 194<sup>r</sup> of the Princeton Climax is typical (Fig. 66). The Christ, who appears within a medallion, holds a crown in each of his outstretched hands. This is surely an allusion to the symbolic coronation of saints, the implication being that to complete the arduous ascent is to achieve the reward of sanctity. The *coronatio* had a long tradition in Christian art: a familiar example is the apse mosaic of San Vitale in Ravenna, where the enthroned Christ presents a jeweled garland to Saint Vitalis.<sup>6</sup> Even more apt in this context is the mosaic (partially destroyed) in the north apse of the basilica of Parenzo.<sup>7</sup> Christ is shown in half length

<sup>4</sup> Omont, *op.cit.*, pl. 81.

<sup>5</sup> C. R. Morey, "Notes on East Christian Miniatures," *Art Bulletin*, xi, 1929, p. 57, fig. 63.

<sup>6</sup> M. van Berchem and E. Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrétiennes du IV<sup>me</sup> au X<sup>me</sup> siècle*, Geneva, 1924, fig. 184. On this subject see C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*, 2nd ed., Paderborn, 1913, pp. 402-404; and A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, pp. 202-205.

<sup>7</sup> Van Berchem and Clouzot, *op.cit.*, fig. 231. Prof. A. M. Friend has suggested that the two

within a segment of heaven; below him stand the martyr saints Cosmas and Damian, over whose heads he holds a wreath in each hand. This distinctive attitude is precisely duplicated in the Princeton miniature, in which, moreover, even the crowns are of the same archaic wreath-type. A simple garland is likewise held by Christ in the ladder-picture in Vat. gr. 1754 (Fig. 238).

In other Climax miniatures the crown takes the form of the jeweled stemma worn by mid-Byzantine emperors. Examples are seen in Sinai gr. 423 (Fig. 23), where the Christ proffers two crowns, and in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 67), where only one is shown. This type of crown is common in mid-Byzantine representations of a related subject—the symbolic coronation of an emperor.<sup>8</sup> The frontispiece miniature in the Barberini psalter (Vat. Barb. gr. 372), illustrating the coronation of Alexius Comnenus, John Comnenus, and the Empress Irene,<sup>9</sup> may be compared, in particular, to the scene in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 67), where the enthroned Christ likewise holds the imperial stemma in his extended right hand. It is surely not likely, however, that the Climax artists intended to draw a direct parallel to the imperial coronation, but rather that they have merely represented the saint's crown in a more contemporary form.

It is perhaps impossible to determine which of the two types of Christ is the earlier. But if the miniature in Stauronikita 50 (Fig. 133) is, as we have suggested, a faithful reflection of the original, then the Anastasis-type must antedate the coronation-type. It is of course conceivable that both are merely modifications of a simpler archetype.

There is no need to conclude that the archetype of the ladder-scene must have been a manuscript illustration. Indeed its monumental character, which is apparent even in the miniatures, points to an origin in some medium better adapted to its scope, probably mosaic or fresco. A composition invented as a miniature, moreover, would surely reveal a greater dependence on the text, whereas the ladder-picture, as we have noted, is by no means a literal illustration. And since it appears, finally, that the artist was influenced by the Last Judgment, which itself originated in monumental form, we may assume with some certainty that the archetype was a mural painting on a large scale. This composition evidently became so well-known as to be incorporated in Climax manuscripts as a full-page illustration.

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crowns held by Christ in several of the Climax pictures may be iconographically related to the miniature of the Ascension in the Rabula Gospels, in which the Lord is flanked by two angels, each bearing a crown. The significance of this scene is to be published by him in a forthcoming study of the Rabula manuscript.

<sup>8</sup> On this subject see Grabar, *op.cit.*, pp. 112ff.

<sup>9</sup> E. T. DeWald, "The Comnenian Portraits in the Barberini Psalter," *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 78ff., fig. 1.

It would be idle to speculate on the location of the original work, but its probable appearance at least may be visualized through later copies. The heavenly ladder was frequently represented in monumental form; frescoes of this subject still survive in Athonite monasteries and even on the exterior walls of Balkan churches.<sup>10</sup> A typical example is that in the refectory of Dionysiu on Mt. Athos,<sup>11</sup> which, though somewhat elaborated in detail, still retains the fundamental character of the scene as we know it in miniatures. At the head of the ladder (which has been bent at an angle to accommodate the pictures intruding at the right) Christ leans forward from heaven to take the wrist of the leading climber. Below him, other monks are flanked by both demons and angels. The author is seen at the lower right, holding a scroll and pointing to the ladder, beneath which lies the dragon, in the act of swallowing a monk. The fresco is substantially a replica of the heavenly ladder as prescribed by Dionysius of Fournas, the Athonite painter-monk who, during the decline of Byzantine art, formulated its iconographic principles in his painter's manual.<sup>12</sup>

The subject is also known in panel-paintings, as for example a sixteenth-century triptych in the Vatican Gallery, perhaps made in Sinai.<sup>13</sup> The heavenly ladder is likewise displayed on a Russian icon in Leningrad, formerly in the Likhachev Collection,<sup>14</sup> in which it is still possible to discern the original composition beneath extensive enrichments.

A psalter of the twelfth century in Rome (Vat. gr. 1927), notable for its unconventional iconography, makes use of the heavenly ladder (Fig. 296) to illustrate the words of Psalm 118: "Blessed are the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord."<sup>15</sup> In order that the allusion to the ladder of St. John shall be perfectly clear, the artist has been careful to delineate all thirty rungs and has supplied the inscription ἡ κλήμαξ. The action

<sup>10</sup> Cf. P. Henry, *Les églises de la Moldavie du Nord*, Paris, 1930, Album, pl. LXVII, no. 1.

<sup>11</sup> G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, I, *Les peintures*, Paris, 1927, pl. 211, no. 3. There are other examples in Vatopedi (*ibid.*, pl. 94), the Laura (*ibid.*, pl. 142, no. 2), and Dochiariu (*ibid.*, pl. 241, no. 2).

<sup>12</sup> Denys de Fournas, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne* (ed. by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus), St. Petersburg, 1909, p. 211.

<sup>13</sup> A. Muñoz, *I quadri bizantini della Pinacoteca Vaticana*, Rome, 1928, p. 10, pl. VIII. The possibility of its Sinaitic origin was proposed by Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, pp. 22ff.

<sup>14</sup> N. Likhachev, *Materialy dlia istorii russkogo ikonopisaniia*, St. Petersburg, 1906, I, pl. CXLVIII. Morey, *op.cit.*, p. 22, fig. 12. P. Schweinfurth, *Geschichte der russischen Malerei im Mittelalter*, The Hague, 1930, fig. 80. Very similar to this is a full-page miniature of the heavenly ladder in a Russian Climax manuscript of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, now in the Lenin Library in Moscow (G. P. Georgievskii and M. Vladimirov, *Old Russian Miniatures*, Moscow, 1934, pl. 50).

<sup>15</sup> E. T. DeWald, *Vaticanus Graecus 1927* (The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, III, part 1), Princeton, 1941, pl. L, no. 2.



## THE AUTHOR PORTRAIT

of the monk who plucks up his tunic and puts his hand to his face is exactly reproduced in the miniature of Vat. gr. 1754 (Fig. 238).<sup>16</sup>

The heavenly ladder must also have been known in the West, for it is reflected in the *Hortus deliciarum* of Herrad of Landsberg, written in the late twelfth century and destroyed in Strasbourg in 1870. In this work Herrad represented the "Ladder of Virtue," using as a model a Byzantine miniature of the Climax (Fig. 297).<sup>17</sup> Few compositional changes have been made: the ladder, except that it has only fifteen rungs, is a replica of its Greek prototype, with the coiled dragon at the foot and the *Dextera Domini* issuing from heaven at the top; and the climbing figures are protected by armed angels and attacked by demons with bow and arrow. But the hint of more universal application already present in the Climax scene has been developed by the western artist so that the ladder of virtue takes on even wider significance as an allegory of life. The persons on the ladder are drawn from several walks of life, although the ecclesiastical calling still predominates. At the bottom are a knight and his lady, and above them a nun, a cleric, a monk, a recluse, and a hermit. Nearly all of these topple from the rungs, not directly into the dragon's mouth, but—and it is a tribute to Herrad's tolerance—to the enjoyment of the mundane pleasures displayed on the hillside at the right. Near the top a figure receives the crown of life: this is Charity, the sum of all virtues. Here is another echo of John Climacus' ladder, the topmost rung of which is Faith, Hope, and Charity—"and the greatest of these is Charity."<sup>18</sup>

## B. THE AUTHOR PORTRAIT

The second illustration occurring most frequently in Climax manuscripts is the portrait of the author. An early example is found in Sinai gr. 417, of the tenth century (Fig. 1). It is a bust portrait of the medallion type; the author is figured as an aged, bearded man with hands held before him in prayer. The inscription reads Ο ΟΚΙΟΚ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΚ. The miniature is remi-

<sup>16</sup> As noted by J. J. Tikkanen, "Eine illustrierte Klimax-Handschrift der Vatikanischen Bibliothek," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, XIX, 1890, no. 2, p. 9, note.

<sup>17</sup> A. Straub and G. Keller, *Herrade de Landsberg, Hortus Deliciarum*, Strasbourg, 1901, pl. LVI.

<sup>18</sup> There is a superficial resemblance to the Climax picture in the illustration of the Vision of Perpetua, as seen in Latin manuscripts of the *Speculum Virginum*. While in prison awaiting sentence of execution, Perpetua, a martyr of the third century, beheld a bronze ladder reaching to heaven, and beneath it a dragon threatening all who might ascend. The miniatures depict the ladder with Christ in a medallion at the top, a dragon entwined about the base, and, in the middle, figures struggling with a demon (A. Watson, "The Speculum Virginum with special reference to the Tree of Jesse," *Speculum*, III, 1928, pp. 452ff., pl. IV; *idem*, "A Manuscript of the Speculum Virginum in the Walters Art Gallery," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, X, 1947, pp. 61ff., fig. 10). There is no reason to think, however, that Perpetua's ladder reflects the influence of the Climax picture. The miniatures reveal no features that cannot be accounted for by the text of the vision.

niscent of the many medallion pictures contained in the Paris manuscript of the *Sacra parallela* of John of Damascus (Bibl. Nat., cod. gr. 923), written in the ninth century.<sup>19</sup> One of these, indeed, actually represents John Climacus. On fol. 146<sup>r</sup> are three circular portraits of monks (Fig. 298). Since the only monastic writers whose works are quoted on this page are Maximus Confessor, John Damascene, and John Climacus, the portraits (which bear no inscriptions) must be of these three persons. The proper identifications would seem to be as follows: Climacus at the top, Damascenus in the middle, and Maximus at the bottom. Despite minor differences in the shape of the beards, it is clearly impossible to distinguish separate, individual likenesses; all three are merely generalized types which can be matched in pictures of other monks in this manuscript. The medallion portrait in Sinai gr. 417 perhaps follows the same tradition of standardized author portraits, but the inclusion of the nimbus and the hands within the circular frame may indicate that this is an abbreviation of a standing portrait.

Very different is the type which, from the eleventh century onward, becomes the traditional representation of John Climacus. This shows him in the act of writing his work. A very handsome example is offered by Vat. gr. 394, a manuscript of the eleventh century (Fig. 69). It is a full-page miniature, immediately preceding the first chapter of the text. St. John is seated, facing to the right, and supports on his knees a sheet of parchment on which he is about to inscribe his treatise. He is an old man, with white hair and beard, and wears an air of frowning concentration. On a table before him lie various writing implements, including a sponge and a knife for erasures. From a curtained doorway at the right another aged monk observes the author as he writes.

The portrait in Vat. gr. 1754 (Fig. 239), of the twelfth or thirteenth century, is similar in most respects. The saint, who is seated before a desk fitted with a lectern, holds the parchment on his knee and bends forward to write on it. Although the architectural setting is quite different, an onlooker seems to peer from a window at the right, like the watching monk in codex 394.

A somewhat simpler version of the scene appears in Stauronikita 50 (Fig. 135), of the fourteenth century, where the seated author holds a scroll rather than a sheet of parchment, and the watching monk is not present. In a twelfth-century leaf in the Freer Collection (Fig. 14) St. John sits before a desk, writing in a codex resting on his knees; the inscription reads: ὁ ἅγιος ἰω(άννης) ὁ τῆς κλίμακο(ς). The architectural setting has been reduced to a single narrow structure at the right, probably representing the monastery

<sup>19</sup> H. Bordier, *Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1883, pp. 90f. For typical illustrations, see the reproductions in J. Rendel Harris, *Fragments of Philo Judaeus*, Cambridge, 1886.

of Sinai with its characteristic walled enclosure. From the arc of heaven above protrudes the hand of God, enclosed within rays of light. Still simpler is the portrait in Vatopedi 376, of the eleventh century (Fig. 16). As in other examples, the author,  $\delta \alpha(\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma) \iota\omega(\acute{\alpha}\nu\nu\eta\varsigma)$ , writes in a book held in his lap, and a table with writing implements stands before him; the support of the lectern is in the form of a fish. The architectural setting consists only of a single edifice at the left and a low wall running across the scene. Very similar to this is the miniature in codex 66 of the Benaki Museum in Athens (Fig. 24), likewise of the eleventh century. Beneath an arch supported by knotted columns, St. John is seated writing his work; the head of the figure has been effaced. The setting comprises a desk with writing instruments, a lectern, and a single building at the left, as in Vatopedi 376. Surrounding the scene is a broad field of floral ornament. The miniature in Sinai gr. 418 (Fig. 180), of the twelfth century, shows only the writing author seated before a lectern, with no other indication of setting. This picture, unlike the other examples cited, is not an independent full-page miniature, but serves instead as a title illustration to the first chapter of the treatise; a similar portrait (since cut out) seems to have been used for the opening chapter in the Princeton Climax.

The portrait in the Milan codex B 80 sup., of the eleventh or twelfth century (Fig. 25), is peculiar in representing the author as writing his book before a landscape setting. Finally, there is the inserted miniature of the fourteenth century in Coislin 88 (Fig. 18), which follows the usual iconography in the attitude of the seated author and the details of the furniture. But the inclusion of the heavenly ladder rising from the architecture in the background is a unique feature. As an instance of the combination of two illustrations in one, the picture is comparable to the drawing of the ladder in Vienna theol. gr. 207 (Fig. 22), likewise of the fourteenth century, where the scene of the climbing monks and the table of contents have been similarly blended. Both may be said to exemplify that inventiveness in composition and iconography which is characteristic of Palaeologan art.

All these portraits are of course ultimately derived from the familiar type of seated author employed for an evangelist, and their purpose is doubtless to give to Climacus' work the stamp of authority, by analogy to the portraits in the gospels. But throughout there is observable a consistent feature which admits of still closer definition: in all examples the author writes on a parchment sheet or scroll which rests on his knee, thus conforming to one of the two types commonly used for St. Luke in the gospel books.<sup>20</sup> Derivative though the portrait is, it nevertheless retains a traditional flavor

<sup>20</sup> A. M. Friend, Jr., "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies*, v, 1927, pp. 134ff.

in its very adherence to this one type. All the Climacus portraits must stem from a common archetype, in which this pose was chosen to represent the author composing his work. It is probable that the original portrait was created at the same time as the scene of the heavenly ladder, that is, in the eleventh century, to which period we may ascribe the extensive illustration of the Climax.

The unique miniature in the Milan codex, Ambros., B 80 sup., which represents the author writing his work before a mountainous landscape (Fig. 25), seems to be derived from another type of evangelist portrait—the scene of John dictating his gospel to Prochoros on the island of Patmos. The type is illustrated by the portrait in the gospel book in the Laurentian Library in Florence, cod. Plut. VI 23;<sup>21</sup> the evangelist, his face turned toward the hand of God in the upper corner, stands at the right, while the secretary Prochoros records his words on the page held in his lap. The Climax miniaturist has evidently adapted this composition, merely omitting the standing figure of the evangelist, and transforming the secretary into the portrait of the author seated in a landscape setting. A second miniature in the same manuscript appears on the opposite leaf (Fig. 26). Within a quatrefoil enclosed by an ornamental field are seen three standing figures wearing the chlamys. The miniature is so badly rubbed that the figure above them is virtually indistinguishable. Since the picture is apparently not an illustration of the text, it is more than likely that it was intended as a dedication miniature showing members of an imperial family being crowned by Christ, or perhaps an angel. A comparable scene is offered by the frontispiece in the Barberini Psalter (cod. Vat. Barb. gr. 372), illustrating the coronation of the prince John Comnenus with his parents Alexius and Irene.<sup>22</sup>

It may be asked if the miniatures do not record the actual likeness of the author, as the features of John Chrysostom, for example, have been preserved in innumerable representations of that saint. All the Climacus portraits, it is true, reveal the same facial type in general: St. John has short white hair and a pointed beard; even the early miniatures in Sinai gr. 417 (Fig. 1) and Paris gr. 923 (Fig. 298) answer to this description. And yet, although this may conceivably be a traditional likeness, it has none of the particular qualities of a genuine portrait, and seems rather to be merely the conventional rendering of the *γέρων*—the “old man” of Greek monasticism. In Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 69) a slight alteration of this formula has been introduced: the author’s beard terminates in two points, a peculiarity that can also be seen in the illustrations at the head of each chapter (cf. Fig. 82). It would appear that the miniaturist has attempted to impart to an

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 146f., fig. 180.

<sup>22</sup> DeWald, “The Comnenian Portraits in the Barberini Psalter,” fig. 1.

otherwise too generalized likeness a distinctive feature which might make the author more easily recognizable.

A second unusual feature in this same portrait is the monk who observes the saint from within a draped portico. The motif is not without parallel. In Vat. gr. 766, an eleventh-century codex containing the Epistles of Paul and the commentary of John Chrysostom, there is a strikingly similar miniature (Fig. 299), illustrating an incident told in the *Vita* of Chrysostom by George of Alexandria.<sup>23</sup> While the saint was writing his commentary on the works of Paul, the apostle himself appeared and offered him inspiration. This miraculous event was witnessed from a doorway by Chrysostom's secretary, Proclus. He is shown at the right peering from behind the door, as St. Paul leans over the writer's shoulder; an icon with the likeness of Paul is seen above. The same scene appears in a psalter in Athens (National Library, cod. 7)<sup>24</sup> and in a fresco in the church of Chilandari on Mt. Athos.<sup>25</sup> Obviously the Climax miniature is based directly on the inspiration of Chrysostom by Paul, the apostle and the icon being of course omitted. But the portrait of Climacus can have little meaning if it is designed merely to show a secretary watching the inspiration of the author, for the very agent of inspiration is lacking. It is possible, then, that the monk within the doorway, who is no youthful secretary but a venerable, bearded man, is to be interpreted as Abbot John of Raithu, though he is not so identified and wears no nimbus.

Two pen-drawings in Paris suppl. gr. 1279, a paper manuscript of the late Byzantine period, may be mentioned here for the sake of completeness. The first of these (Fig. 27) shows a monastic saint standing with outstretched hands. On the opposite leaf is a second figure (Fig. 28) holding an open book. These are presumably to be understood as John of Raithu and John Climacus. Manifestly they have nothing to do with the portraits described above, and are merely the invention of an illustrator who has lost touch with the traditional iconography.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the edition of the works of Chrysostom by Henry Saville (Eton, 1612), VIII, pp. 192f.

<sup>24</sup> P. Buberl, *Die Miniaturhandschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Athen*, Vienna, 1917, pl. XVII, no. 40.

<sup>25</sup> Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, I, *Les peintures*, pl. 79, no. 3.



### III. THE CYCLIC ILLUSTRATION OF THE TEXT

THERE are relatively few Climax manuscripts with full pictorial cycles. In the majority the decoration is limited to an illustration of the ladder and, less commonly, an author portrait. A similar situation obtains in illustrated gospel books, most of which have only the portraits of the four evangelists, full cycles of narrative scenes being comparatively rare. Considering the general agreement in the two most frequent Climax miniatures, one might expect a comparable uniformity in the illustrations of the text itself. In reality, however, the manuscripts reveal an astonishing divergence in their cyclic illustration.

#### A. THE CYCLES

##### 1. *The Princeton Climax*

The codex in the library of Princeton University (no. 16 in the Garrett Collection of Mediaeval and Renaissance Manuscripts) contains a colophon with the date 1081, which shows it to be one of the earliest Climax manuscripts with extensive illustrations. In its original state the Princeton codex was decorated with forty-three miniatures. Six of these have been cut out and several more damaged by the same means.

##### THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS: FOLS. 1<sup>r</sup> AND 2<sup>r</sup>

The book opens with the letter sent by Abbot John of Raithu to John Climacus, and the latter's reply. On fol. 1<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 29) is an ornamented head-piece, the only one of its kind in the manuscript, in which are five medallions containing two ducks, a stag, a horse (or a second stag), and a lion. In the right margin St. John of Raithu hands his letter to a servant-monk. The inscription in red ink reads: ὁ ὁσιος πατ(ῆ)ρ ἡμῶ(ν) ἰω(άννης) ὁ τῆς ραῖθοῦ ἡγούμε(εν)ο(ς) (our holy father John, abbot of Raithu). Both figures wear yellowish-brown garments. The abbot's nimbus is gold, and the ground-strip is blue-green.

On fol. 2<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 30) John Climacus is about to receive the letter from the messenger, who kneels humbly before him. The inscription, ἀντιγραφ(ή), relates to the text, which contains the reply, rather than to the picture. The author wears the *megaloschema*, or great habit; this consists of a long tunic, a black scapular (*analabos*) adorned with white embroidery, and an outer mantle (*mandyas*). That the artist has chosen to represent what seems to be the receiving of the letter instead of the dispatch of the reply is explained by the opening words of the text passage: "I have received thine esteemed epistle. . . ."<sup>1</sup> This is the traditional way of representing such a

<sup>1</sup> Migne, P.G., LXXXVIII, col. 625B.

subject. It may be seen, for example, in the Octateuchs. In Vat. gr. 747 (fol. 12<sup>r</sup>),<sup>2</sup> the sender, seated at the left, hands the scroll to a messenger, as does John of Raithu in the first of the Princeton miniatures; and on the opposite side, the letter is delivered to the recipient, who is likewise seated. In the Climax manuscript a variation from this scheme has been introduced in that the author is shown as standing, possibly by way of indicating his greater importance.

THE TABLE OF CONTENTS: FOL. 4<sup>r</sup>

At the right of fol. 4<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 31) stands the ladder, which is blue with gold edging; each of its thirty rungs is numbered from bottom to top. At its summit is Christ, clad in blue and seen in half-figure against a gold medallion; he stretches forth his arms in a gesture of welcome. The list of chapter-titles, numbered in reverse sequence from the bottom in exact correspondence with the rungs of the ladder, occupies the left portion of the page. In the approximate center the author-saint expounds his work to an assemblage of four monks, above whom he is elevated. The inscriptions reads: ὁ ὅσιος π(ατ)ῆρ ἡμῶ(ν) ἰωάννης ἡγούμε(εν)ο(ς) τοῦ σινᾶ ὄρους, ὁ τῆς κλίμακο(ς) (our holy father John Climacus, abbot of Mount Sinai). This is followed by his words of exhortation: ἐπιβῶμ(εν) προθύμ(ως) ὦ ἀδελ(φοὶ) τῆς οὐρανοδρόμου κλίμακος (O brethren, let us eagerly ascend the ladder which leadeth unto heaven.)

In these figures the artist displays a subtle sense of color: by delicate variations in the somber hues of the garments, ranging from yellowish brown to gray-green, he has avoided an impression of monotony. These colors are relieved by the hair and beards, which are light blue. The composition is equally effective. In the close-knit group of monks, the undulating silhouette of which is broken only by the abrupt projection of the feet and one hand, a sense of tension is skillfully created by the beseeching gaze of the two figures at the left, and by the pensive expression of those who turn to the right and seem to ponder the ascent.

It will be observed that this page is merely a somewhat elaborated version of the table of contents as illustrated in Paris gr. 1069 (Fig. 5).

THE SPIRITUAL TABLETS: FOL. 8<sup>v</sup>

At the bottom of fol. 8<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 32) are depicted two marble rectangles with blue and gold borders, inscribed πλάκες πν(ευματ)ικαί (spiritual tablets). At the right is a gold cross on a blue base, with the words ἰ(ησοῦ)ς χ(ριστό)ς. The term "spiritual tablets" appears to have been an alternative title of the *Heavenly Ladder*, and is given as such in Migne's edition.<sup>3</sup> A partial

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced in T. Ouspensky, *L'octateuque de la Bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople*, Sofia, 1907, Album, pl. VIII, nos. 9-10.

<sup>3</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 632A.

explanation of the term is afforded by a passage in the first chapter, where the author, speaking of the servants of God, says that he has traced "the divine precepts on their clean and spotless hearts, as if on sheets of paper, or rather on spiritual tablets."<sup>4</sup> Even more explicit is John of Raithu's letter, in which he asks that John Climacus set down "those things which like Moses of old thou didst see on the same mountain [i.e. Sinai], and which are like unto the tablets written by God."<sup>5</sup> A very similar idea is expressed in the biography by the monk Daniel.<sup>6</sup> It is thus clear that the marble tablets are derived from the tables of the law given to Moses on Mount Sinai. In the Octateuchs they are represented as two plaques with a similar veined surface.<sup>7</sup> In the Climax manuscript, however, their new Christian connotation is made clear by the juxtaposition of the Holy Cross, inscribed with the name of Christ.

CHAP. I: FOL. 9<sup>r</sup>

At this point the treatise itself commences, the first chapter dealing with "renunciation of life." The accompanying marginal illustration, unfortunately, has been cut out, one of several such instances. But we are left with a clue as to the nature of the missing miniature, because the gold used in it has discolored the opposite leaf (fol. 8<sup>v</sup>), making it possible to distinguish in silhouette the head of a bearded figure leaning forward. This was almost certainly a portrait of the author, seated in the act of writing his work. In most other Climax manuscripts, as we have seen, the author portrait occupies a full page as a frontispiece miniature, whereas here it was apparently used in reduced scale to illustrate the first chapter. But it is to be noted that a similar usage is seen in Sinai gr. 418 (Fig. 180).

CHAP. II: FOL. 15<sup>v</sup>

The second homily concerns "dispassionateness," and is illustrated in the left margin of fol. 15<sup>v</sup> by the standing figure of a monk (Fig. 33). He wears a mantle and scapular, and a tunic which reaches only to his knees; in his right hand he grasps a scroll, and holds a small cross in his left. Landscape is summarily indicated by a pale blue strip of ground and two diminutive trees. The chapter itself offers nothing to explain the miniature. Doubtless it merely represents the artist's conception of a monk who has acquired complete detachment from the things of this world.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, cols. 632C-633A.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, col. 624B.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, col. 605.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., the Smyrna Octateuch, fol. 109<sup>r</sup> (D. C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque grec de Smyrne*, Leyden, 1909, pl. 64, no. 203).



## THE CYCLES

### CHAP. III, PART I: FOL. 18<sup>v</sup>

There is nothing to suggest what was the nature of the missing miniature at the opening of the third chapter, "on pilgrimage." Perhaps it showed a monk journeying into the wilderness.

### CHAP. III, PART 2: FOL. 22<sup>r</sup>

Subjoined to the third chapter is a discussion of the disturbing dreams to which novices who have only recently made their pilgrimage are subjected by the demons. This is illustrated by the picture of a youthful monk lying stiffly on a mattress of woven straw and raising his head and right forearm (Fig. 34). The object above him, now blurred by rubbing, no doubt originally represented a demon.

### CHAP. IV: FOL. 23<sup>v</sup>

When the novice has wholly withdrawn himself from worldly things, he must acquire the virtue of obedience. This is the theme of the fourth chapter, which is one of the longest, and which, together with chapter v, contains an unusual proportion of narrative. To illustrate this virtue, St. John relates a series of anecdotes, chiefly having to do with the supreme self-discipline shown by the monks of a monastery near Alexandria. The artist is thus given an opportunity for narrative illustration such as is rarely found in the treatise.

This being so, it is astonishing to discover that the marginal picture (Fig. 35) has no relation to any of the incidents recounted in the text. An aged religious, presumably an abbot, sits on a bench and extends his right arm in a gesture of command toward two younger monks beneath him. The first of these willingly strides forward, bearing on his shoulder a large water jar and holding a smaller vessel in his left hand. The other, who is beardless and wears a somewhat longer tunic, stands motionless with arms folded and gazes upward at the abbot, in what seems to be refusal to comply with his request. A tree and a strip of ground serve as landscape setting, and a stream of bright blue water runs from the left side across the bottom of the picture. It is clear that the artist has invented the situation illustrated, so as to represent the opposed qualities of obedience and disobedience in monks.

### CHAP. V: FOL. 52<sup>r</sup>

The miniature accompanying chapter v has been cut out. In this homily, which concerns "penitence," the author continues his series of anecdotes of the monks in the great monastery near Alexandria. About a mile distant, as he relates in the preceding chapter,<sup>8</sup> there was a separate monastic estab-

<sup>8</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 704A.

ishment, designed to house penitent monks. A great part of the fifth chapter is devoted to descriptions of this unattractive place, which he terms "the monastery of the penitents" (ἡ μονή τῶν μετανοούντων), and "the prison" (ἡ φυλακή).<sup>9</sup> It acquired this latter name partly because of its utter lack of creature comforts, but also because, as St. John observes, the true penitent is a self-accused criminal, eager to pay the penalty of his sins.<sup>10</sup>

It must now be determined whether the missing miniature bore any relation to this subject. The solution is provided by an inscription in gold, which, though it is fragmentary as the result of too generous cutting by the person who removed the picture, has fortunately left a faint impression on the opposite leaf. The following reconstruction may thus be arrived at: ἡ ἰδιάζουσα μονή ἡ ἐπιλεγομ(έ)ν(η) φυλακή ἐν ᾗ οἱ ἅγιοι κατάδικοι (the extraordinary monastery called the prison, in which are the holy criminals). It is certain, then, that the artist represented here the monastery of the penitents, perhaps after the manner of that of Sinai, which is seen on fol. 165<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 59).

CHAP. VI: FOL. 63<sup>v</sup>

"Remembrance of death" is the subject of the sixth homily. The miniature (Fig. 36) shows an aged monk lying on a straw mattress, his arms folded on his breast, and a gold nimbus about his head. An angel, holding a scepter and likewise wearing a nimbus, stands beside the dying man and draws the soul, in the form of a small nude figure, from his mouth. Three grieving fellow-monks are gathered at his feet, and a fourth, who is hooded, stands at his head holding up a censer and seeming to blow on it. The angel's robes, in contrast to the brown garments of the monks, are light blue and violet, and his wings red and gold. A light blue arc of heaven is visible above, as if symbolic of the dying one's destination. The ground is indicated by an irregular wave-pattern of green and blue.

The scene of the death of a monk is a standard one in Byzantine iconography. A typical example is to be found in the Menologium of Basil II (Vat. gr. 1613), in the illustration of the passing of Ephraim Syrus.<sup>11</sup> The composition is essentially the same in reverse, with the mourners (here re-

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, col. 764D.

<sup>10</sup> Jerome, in his preface to the *Regula Pachomii* (*idem, Patrologia Latina*, xxiii, col. 65A-B), speaks of Latin monks in the monastery at Canopus, for whose benefit he translated the Pachomian Rule into their own tongue. The ancient Canopus, an island in the estuary of the Nile near Alexandria, was notorious for its luxury and vice. Jerome remarks that its name was altered to the "monastery of penitence" (*monasterium Metanoëae*, a Latinized form of μοναστήριον μετανόας). Despite the several centuries between Jerome and John Climacus, it may be asked if they are not describing the same Egyptian monastery, one with which penitence was closely associated.

<sup>11</sup> *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, vii), Turin, 1907, pl. 354.

duced to two), the straw mattress, and the hooded monk fanning the fumes of the censer precisely as in the Princeton miniature. But the angel receiving the soul is conspicuously absent.

This motif<sup>12</sup> is employed in the so-called monastic psalters to illustrate the words: "As for man, his days are as grass: as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth." The closest parallel to our miniature is perhaps that of the eleventh-century "Theodore Psalter" in London (Brit. Mus., Add. MS 19352, fol. 137<sup>r</sup>), in which the dying man, clad in a long tunic, lies on a bed; two angels are in attendance, one of whom puts forth his hand to receive the departing soul. In an earlier psalter of this recension, the ninth-century "Chludoff Psalter" in Moscow (Hist. Mus., cod. add. gr. 129),<sup>13</sup> this verse is differently illustrated: here an angel struggles to free a soul from the clutches of Hades.

It is thus evident that the Princeton miniature represents a fusion of two scenes. The basis of its composition is the picture of the dying ascetic saint surrounded by his brethren, as illustrated in the menologia. Superimposed on this iconography is the motif of the angel receiving the soul; this, as being the standard formula of the monastic psalters, may have seemed to an artist-monk to be the proper accompaniment of a death-scene.<sup>14</sup>

#### CHAP. VII: FOL. 66<sup>v</sup>

The marginal miniature (Fig. 37) is an illustration of "sorrow." In a cave hollowed out of a rocky hill sits a solitary monk with his hands pressed to his face in an eloquent gesture of grief reminiscent of the mourner in the preceding miniature. Hardly visible in the shadows at the right are his meager possessions: a small kettle hanging on a hook, and a water bottle lying on the ground. Divine approval of his sorrow is betokened by the blue segment of heaven at the upper right. The miniature is almost entirely executed in brown, from the light shade tinged with yellow for the mountain and the hermit's tunic, to the dark, almost black tone of the shadowy in-

<sup>12</sup> The notion that the soul, at the moment of death, makes its departure through the mouth is of great antiquity, and finds mention in Homer (*Iliad*, ix, 409). The soul, or *eidolon*, is frequently represented in Greek vase-paintings as a minute human form hovering over the deceased. A black-figured amphora, formerly in Naples, shows two warriors supporting a dying man from whose mouth issues the *eidolon*, clad in full armor (P. I. Meier, "Sopra un' anfora della collezione Bourguignon in Napoli," *Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, LV, 1883, pp. 208ff., pl. Q). It is doubtful, however, that the motif had a continuous existence in pictorial art from antiquity onward.

<sup>13</sup> Fol. 102<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced in J. J. Tikkanen, "Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, XXXI, 1903, pl. II, no. 3.

<sup>14</sup> A comparable instance of the borrowing of this motif is furnished by a fourteenth-century manuscript of the legend of Barlaam and Joasaph in Paris (Bibl. Nat., cod. gr. 1128), which contains two death-scenes clearly derived from the type of the monastic psalters (S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration du roman de Barlaam et Joasaph*, Paris, 1937, pp. 137, 172, pls. LXIII, no. 247, and xc, no. 363).

terior of the cave. These colors are relieved by bluish highlights on the hill-top and on the rocks at the foot. Here again it is apparent that the artist, instead of representing a specific episode from the chapter, has merely illustrated its general content by a picture of a sorrowing monk.

CHAP. VIII: FOL. 76<sup>r</sup>

The illustration of "placidity and meekness" (Fig. 38) represents an angel grasping a monk's wrist with one hand and laying the other about his shoulder in a protective gesture which is further emphasized by the encircling sweep of his wing. Both figures have the nimbus and are flanked by conventionalized trees. At the upper left is seen the arc of heaven, from which three tiny rays are directed toward the pair. The contrast between celestial and earthly beings is heightened by the delicate blue and rose of the angel's garments against the yellowish tunic and dark brown mantle worn by the monk. The inscription, which seems to belong rather to the title of the chapter than to the picture, repeats the words of Matthew 5: 5: *μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν* (blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth).

A brief passage in the text—an example of metaphorical writing which almost defies literal translation—reads as follows: "If a single wolf . . . can with the aid of a demon disquiet the flock, so can one most wise brother, with an angel as his helper (*συνεργός*), cause the ship to ride the billows and be calm, by serving as it were as oil on the waters."<sup>15</sup> These words may have sufficed as motivation for the miniature. In any event, it is clear that the angel is symbolic of the divine source of meekness.

CHAP. IX: FOL. 81<sup>r</sup>

In sharp contrast to his subject-matter thus far, the author turns in chapter IX to a discussion of "malice." In the accompanying miniature (Fig. 39) an elderly monk averts his head and strives to free himself from the clutches of a large winged demon who has seized him by the wrists. Beneath the latter is a dark mass which may represent either a hill or the abyss into which he seeks to drag his victim. An instance of monkish piety is to be seen in the erasure of the demon as an object not fit for contemplation. This is of course a common occurrence in illustrated manuscripts; we have already noted a similar erasure in Fig. 34. As the angel in the preceding miniature typifies meekness, so must the demon represent the vice of malice.

CHAP. X: FOL. 82<sup>v</sup>

The title of the tenth rung is "slander." Since the text is without narrative detail, we may regard the picture as having been invented to give a concrete

<sup>15</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXVIII, col. 832D.

illustration of this vice, which it does most effectively (Fig. 40). On a hillock between two trees sits a monk holding his hand to his ear to catch the words of a second who bends down to whisper some malicious gossip. Here too the artist has been at pains to avoid monotony in the colors of the garments, which are light violet and brown in the case of the seated figure and light gray and black in the other.

CHAP. XI: FOL. 85<sup>r</sup>

Chapter XI deals with "talkativeness and silence." The miniature is like its predecessor in being an illustration of these two opposite qualities in monks (Fig. 41). Two brethren stand facing each other, one gesticulating in animated fashion, the other holding his right hand to his mouth and raising his left as if to silence his loquacious companion. The unruliness of the monk on the left is further emphasized by his disorderly hair and sharply jutting fingers, in contrast to the restful pose and closed silhouette of the second. There is no need to look further for the source of the illustration, which was clearly invented for this chapter.

Having now acquired some insight into the artist's method, we may observe that wherever possible he attempts to give concrete illustrations of the qualities discussed by John Climacus. Thus, to name the most effective examples, he is able to create a visual impression of obedience (Fig. 35), sorrow (Fig. 37), and talkativeness and silence (Fig. 41). When, on the other hand, his problem is to illustrate characteristics which defy literal representation, he is compelled to introduce supernatural agents, such as the angel of meekness on fol. 76<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 38), and the demon of malice on fol. 81<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 39). For these the miniaturist is given every justification by the text, which is full of references to spirits working actively for good and evil.

CHAP. XII: FOL. 86<sup>r</sup>

The illustration of chapter XII, which has as its subject "falsehood," falls within the second of these categories (Fig. 42). A monk with his arms crossed before his breast turns away from a black winged demon (almost effaced), who reaches out to seize him. The scene bears a marked resemblance to that on fol. 81<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 39).

CHAP. XIII: FOL. 87<sup>r</sup>

"Sloth" is the theme of the thirteenth homily. The manifestations of this evil are graphically described by the author, who in one passage speaks of it as a living person: "Seeing the cell of an anchorite, it smileth, approacheth him, and dwelleth nearby."<sup>16</sup> The illustration (Fig. 43) shows an indolent

<sup>16</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 860A.



monk, seated chin in hand on a blue cushion before a hill of gray-green color. Facing him stands the partially defaced figure of a dark-skinned, winged demon of female sex, clad in brilliant garments of red, green, and gray, who grasps the monk's wrist; the left arm is thrust back as if pointing at some unseen object. The colorful apparel of the demon of sloth is in marked contrast to the nude forms in other miniatures, a fact which suggests that the figure is actually a personification of ἀκηδία. The attitude of the monk, with one hand supporting the chin and the other resting on the thigh, is that commonly employed in Byzantine art to denote inactivity; its most familiar occurrence is in the figure of Joseph in the Nativity.

CHAP. XIV, PART 1: FOL. 89<sup>r</sup>

The miniature illustrating chapter XIV, "on gluttony," has been cut out, leaving only the tip of a tree. "Gluttony," however, can have presented no more difficult a problem to the artist than "sorrow" or "slander" (Figs. 37 and 40). By analogy, therefore, it may safely be conjectured that the missing scene represented a monk eating.

CHAP. XIV, PART 2: FOL. 93<sup>v</sup>

As a transition between chapters XIV and XV, dealing respectively with gluttony and chastity, John Climacus has a brief passage on the relationship between a surfeit of food and bodily lust. In this he explains that if Adam had not succumbed to gluttony by partaking of the forbidden fruit he would not have had carnal knowledge of Eve. "Accordingly," he adds, "those who keep this first commandment [against gluttony] will not fall into the second transgression [lust]."<sup>17</sup> It might be expected that the illustration (Fig. 44) would depict the temptation of the first parents. But this would not be in harmony with the purely monastic iconography of the cycle. Instead there is the figure of a monk, sitting reflectively on a small hill and turning his head to regard a demon (the latter almost entirely rubbed out). In his lap the monk holds a red and yellow book, the cover of which is set with stones. Doubtless he typifies those who observe the divine injunction against gluttony, symbolized by the volume of scripture.

CHAP. XV: FOL. 94<sup>r</sup>

The miniature illustrating "chastity and temperance" is one of the finest in the manuscript (Fig. 45). A youthful brother, his hands held out in an expressive gesture of trustfulness, is guided by an angel, who lays his hand gently on the monk's shoulder. The composition is almost a replica of that on fol. 76<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 38), which it even surpasses in delicacy. The angel's gar-

<sup>17</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 880C.



ments are light blue and violet, and the landscape elements have been omitted. It is probable that the picture was inspired by the following passage in the homily: "Whosoever hath overcome the body, the same hath overcome nature. He that hath overcome nature is wholly above nature . . . and is but a little lower—I might almost say no lower—than the angels."<sup>18</sup>

CHAP. XVI: FOL. 107<sup>v</sup>

The more literal type of illustration is here resumed to portray "avarice" (Fig. 46). In the center is seen a monk behind a table on which are a small coffer and a money bag; he wears only tunic and scapular, and is seated on a blue chair with a high rounded back and a blue cushion. In his upraised left hand he receives money from a little flying demon, while from the other side a second monk approaches, bearing a purse filled with yet more coins. Clearly the central figure is a monk turned usurer, and his accomplices a demon and an equally misguided fellow-monk. The miniature is not explained by the text of the chapter, which makes no mention of a money-lender. It is thus comparable to the scene of obedience (Fig. 35) in being an invention of the illustrator.

CHAP. XVII: FOL. 108<sup>v</sup>

The marginal vignette (Fig. 47) is an illustration of "poverty." Between two slender trees stands a monk wearing a short tunic and sandals. His hair is dishevelled, and in his left hand he holds a long cross-staff, while with his right he makes the sign of benediction. A later hand has added in black ink the crude border about the rectangular ground-strip and the blurred inscription above, which reads: ὁ ἅγιος ἰω(άννης) ὁ πρόδρομος—St. John the Forerunner. The figure does, admittedly, resemble John the Baptist: the unkempt hair, the sandals, and the staff are distinctive features which can be matched in the picture of this saint in the splendid menologium of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (MS 521, fol. 48<sup>v</sup>).<sup>19</sup> But the figure in the Princeton miniature, as the costume shows, is not to be interpreted as representing John the Baptist, but a monk in the guise of that saint. The Baptist is a model figure, whose life is to be imitated by monks.

There is no mention of John the Baptist in the seventeenth homily. But in other writings the idea is expressed that this saint was the forerunner, not only of Jesus Christ, but of the institution of monachism.<sup>20</sup> It is thus not

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, col. 896C. In part, this is a paraphrase of Hebrews 2: 7-9.

<sup>19</sup> Reproduced in K. Weitzmann, "Byzantine Art and Scholarship in America," *American Journal of Archaeology*, LI, 1947, pl. CIX, B.

<sup>20</sup> For example, Sozomenus (*Ecclesiastical History*, I, xii) says of the life of the monks: "Elias the prophet and John the Baptist were the authors, as some say, of this sublime philosophy" (Migne, *P.G.*, LXVII, col. 893A).

unnatural that the same Biblical personage, who was noted for his austere existence in the wilderness, should also stand as the type of monastic poverty. Indeed this very conception is expressly stated in the *De voluntaria paupertate* of Abbot Nilus, an ascetic writer of the sixth century: "Ye know also the poor ones of the New Testament, John the Precursor of Christ, and likewise the company of the apostles, from whom came the monastic life."<sup>21</sup> For his illustration of poverty, therefore, the artist has merely given pictorial form to the conception of John the Baptist as a monastic ideal.

CHAP. XVIII: FOL. 110<sup>r</sup>

Allied to the vice of sloth is that of insensibility, which is defined in the title of chapter XVIII as "the mortification of the soul and the death of the mind before the death of the body."<sup>22</sup> In the right margin appears the minute figure of an aged monk, standing motionless with his right forefinger held against his cheek (Fig. 48). This is evidently the artist's attempt to portray a brother suffering from insensibility, and is thus comparable to the illustration of the dispassionate monk on fol. 15<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 33).

CHAP. XIX: FOL. 112<sup>r</sup>

The chapter treats of the monk's disposition to drowse during prayer and psalm-singing in assembly. This very human failing is graphically portrayed in the marginal picture (Fig. 49). Within the mouth of a cavern in the side of a rocky hill are seen three seated anchorites, whose attitudes convey a sense of great lassitude. Two have wholly succumbed to the desire to sleep; but the central figure seems either to resist this temptation, or perhaps to pray. The posture of the monk at the right closely resembles that of the slothful brother on fol. 87<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 43). A tiny lamp is suspended from a hook at the top of the cave, and in the background stands a lectern, the latter no doubt indicating that the purpose of the gathering is common worship.

CHAP. XX: FOL. 113<sup>v</sup>

Very similar is the illustration of "wakefulness" (Fig. 50). On a hillside are seen four caves, from each of which emerge the head and arms of a hermit. Three of the figures raise their hands to heaven in prayer, and the fourth scans the pages of a book by the light of a little lamp. The intensity with which all pursue their tasks is evident from the contraction of their brows. There is an amusing touch in that two of the praying monks address their supplications to separate arcs of heaven. The author describes various methods of vigilance practiced by monks, observing that some extend their

<sup>21</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, LXXIX, col. 996C-D.

<sup>22</sup> *idem*, *P.G.*, LXXXVIII, col. 932B.

arms, that others persevere by reading, and that still others sing psalms, do manual labor, or meditate on death.<sup>23</sup> It would appear that two of these methods are illustrated here: the three monks at the right literally extend their arms in prayer, while the fourth either reads from the Scriptures or sings psalms.

CHAP. XXI: FOL. 115<sup>v</sup>

"Timidity" is the subject of the marginal miniature (Fig. 51). A bare-foot monk, wearing a short tunic, lifts his hands to ward off the winged personification of timidity, clad in a red garment with a broad blue sash and red shoes, who reaches out menacingly at him. Her dark skin is the mark of a demon. The inscription quotes the words of Psalm 63:1: ἀπὸ φόβου ἐχθροῦ ἐξελοῦ ὁ θεός τ(ῆν) ψυχή(ν) μου (deliver my soul, O God, from fear of the enemy). The miniature invites comparison with that on fol. 87<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 43), where the personification of sloth is likewise a dark-skinned female figure wearing brilliant garments. Both figures seem to combine the ideas of demon and personification.

CHAP. XXII: FOL. 116<sup>v</sup>

The homily is devoted to a consideration of "vainglory." The tiny miniature that accompanies it is almost unequalled for delicacy and refinement of detail (Fig. 52). A venerable father, with a long staff in his hand, holds before him an object decorated with red and blue chevrons. In view of the artist's propensity for literal illustration there can be little doubt that the object, despite its curious shape, is a mirror in which the old man is admiring his reflection. The inscription above reads: τὶ τῇ κενοδοξίᾳ μέγα φρονεῖς, γῇ καὶ σποδὸς ὦν (why dost thou in thy vainglory think presumptuously, being but earth and dust?).

CHAP. XXIII, PART I: FOL. 121<sup>v</sup>

Chapter XXIII is in two parts, the first dealing with "pride," and the second with "blasphemous thoughts." The miniature illustrating the first section (Fig. 53) presents a scene of quite unusual complexity. Only half visible within a cave is a monk, raising his arms in prayer toward an icon of Christ and turning his head to address a small black demon flying behind him. In the foreground is a remarkable assemblage of birds and beasts, including a mouse and several other creatures of indeterminate species. The inscription above the miniature is based on Psalm 69: 3-4: αἰσχυνθήτωσ(αν) καὶ ἀποστραφήτωσ(αν) οἱ ζητοῦντες τὰ κακά μοι. ἀποστραφήτωσαν παρὰντίκα αἰσχυνόμενοι οἱ λέγοντές μοι, εἶγε, εἶγε (let them be put to shame and turned back that seek

<sup>23</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 940C.

after evil things in me; let them instantly be turned back and put to shame that say unto me, Well done, well done).

Now it is puzzling to discover that a story involving these words is related by the author, not in this chapter, but in the one preceding it, which is concerned with vainglory. In this anecdote Climacus quotes the words of a monk noted for his humility: "When, he said, I was sitting in assembly, the demons of vainglory and pride came and sat on either side of me. The first nudged me in the side with the finger of vainglory, urging me to relate some meditation or labor which I had accomplished in the desert. But when I shook off this demon by saying, 'Let them be turned back and put to shame that think evil of me,' then the demon [of pride] on my left at once said in my ear, 'Well done, well done. Thou hast shown thyself great by overcoming my most shameful mother.' To this demon I straightway hurled back a reply, continuing the remainder of the verse, 'Let them instantly be turned back and put to shame that say unto me, Well done, well done.'"<sup>24</sup>

There may seem every reason to regard the miniature as an illustration of this anecdote. If this is the case we must apparently reckon with a copyist's error in misplacing a scene which belongs properly to the previous chapter. But it is not, in the first place, a literal illustration of the anecdote: the monk is not seated in assembly among his fellows, but is a lone hermit in the desert surrounded by wild beasts; only one demon, moreover, is present to tempt him. Secondly, that demon, being on his left, is unquestionably the demon of pride, the offspring of vainglory, who has already been banished. And pride, as the consequence of vainglory, is the subject of the twenty-third homily. The scene is therefore to be regarded as being in its rightful place, although obviously motivated by the story in the previous chapter.

A curious feature of the miniature is the icon of Christ, which is even fitted with a ring by which it can be hung. In this detail we see the undeniable influence of the monastic psalters, where the traditional opposition of the monks to the Iconoclastic Decree is reflected in the substitution of the icon for the more usual representation of the Lord. The rectangular icon with the ring, as it appears in our miniature, is, however, a motif peculiar to the later manuscripts of the group. An example, typical of many such instances, is seen on fol. 73<sup>r</sup> of the "Theodore Psalter" of the year 1066. The borrowing of a single motif from the monastic psalters has already been noted in the miniature on fol. 63<sup>v</sup> of the Climax (Fig. 36).

CHAP. XXIII, PART 2: FOL. 125<sup>r</sup>

The hand of a well-meaning but overzealous reader has totally ruined the scene which illustrates the second part of the chapter, "on blasphemy"

<sup>24</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 953C-D.

(Fig. 54). But enough remains to show the head of a monk with a nimbus, upon whom divine approval is bestowed, as indicated by the segment of heaven above, from which three rays are directed toward him. Before him stands the winged demon of blasphemy. The abhorrence felt for this vice can be judged from the thoroughness with which the demon has been erased. A hill like that in the preceding scene fills the background. The verse below, labeled στίχ(ος), reads: ἐπιστραφήτω τῶν λόγων βλασφημία, πρὸς σὴν κεφαλὴν ἀκάθαρτε κ(αὶ) πλάνε. τὰ ῥήματα γὰρ ταῦτα τῆς βλασφημίας : γεννήματα σῆς τυγχάνουσι καρδίας (Let the blasphemy of thy words be turned upon thine own head, impure and deceitful one. For these sayings are blasphemous, and are the products of thine own heart). Both the scene and the verse appear to be inspired by a passage in the text, which takes the form of an address to the demon of blasphemy: "Thy labor and thy talk will turn upon the crown of thine own head, and thy blasphemy will fall upon thee now and for ever."<sup>25</sup>

CHAP. XXIV: FOL. 128<sup>r</sup>

The title of the chapter is "meekness, simplicity, guilelessness, and wickedness," the text being largely a definition of these qualities. The artist has made no attempt to portray in literal fashion this wide assortment of virtue and vice, but has merely represented two monks facing each other, their hands uplifted in supplication (Fig. 55). Above them is only a circular hole in the parchment to mark what was once a medallion containing the likeness of Christ; and an acute accent is all that remains of an inscription which must have read ἰ(ησοῦ)ς χ(ριστό)ς. The motif of monks with arms upraised to heaven is of frequent occurrence in the monastic psalters, but, like the rectangular icon with the ring, it is found only in the later manuscripts of this group (e.g., the Theodore Psalter and Vat. Barb. gr. 372, both of the eleventh century). An example, showing more monks than our illustration, is seen on fol. 34<sup>r</sup> of the Theodore Psalter. It is hardly to be doubted that the Princeton miniature was derived from some such prototype.

CHAP. XXV: FOL. 130<sup>v</sup>

The twenty-fifth chapter is devoted to a discussion of "humility." The miniature which accompanied the text has been cut out. We are, however, not without some clues as to its subject. The shape of the cut-out portion shows that it must have been a standing figure. And from the slight discoloration on the opposite leaf (fol. 131<sup>r</sup>) we learn further that the head was embellished with a nimbus. Lastly, the inscription in gold letters above, which has been left intact, supplies the information that the missing figure

<sup>25</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 977B-C.



was a certain "St. John, he who was poor for Christ"—ὁ ἄ(γίος) ἰω(άννης) ὁ διὰ χ(ριστὸν) πτωχός(ς). This epithet is an alternative one for the saint known more familiarly as John the Calybite. It is the term used, for example, in the imperial menologium of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (MS 521, fol. 96<sup>r</sup>) ; the more usual form, "the Calybite," is employed in the Vatican menologium (cod. gr. 1613, p. 322), from which the Baltimore manuscript was copied.

The story of John the Calybite (or hut-dweller), as set forth in the *Vita* by Simeon Metaphrastes,<sup>26</sup> may be told briefly. The son of wealthy parents in Constantinople, he was presented as a child with a golden gospel book set with precious stones. Later he was induced to become a monk and lived for a time in a monastery, until he was overcome by a desire to see his parents again. Setting out for home, he exchanged his clothes with a beggar on the way and arrived at his father's house in this wretched disguise. He was hospitably received by his parents, who failed to recognize him, and was permitted to dwell in a little hut erected near their house. For many years he lived thus in utter penury, revealing his identity only on his death-bed, at which time he was recognized by the ornate gospel book which he had long kept concealed. The portrait of the saint in both the Vatican<sup>27</sup> and Walters menologia shows him as tonsured, wearing monk's garments and clasping in his hand the bejeweled book given him by his father. A very similar picture of John the Calybite must have served as the illustration in the Princeton manuscript. The aptness of this saint as a type of humility hardly requires to be commented upon. If further motivation were needed, however, the artist could read in the text of the chapter: "No state can ever humble the soul as much as poverty."<sup>28</sup>

CHAP. XXVI, PART I: FOL. 140<sup>r</sup>

Chapter XXVI is very lengthy and consists of three parts. The subject is "discretion." The marginal picture accompanying the first section is another in the series depicting cave-hermits (Fig. 56). At the left, only partly visible within the mouth of a cavern, sits an aged solitary, holding a scroll in one hand and with the other blessing an equally old monk who kneels abjectly before him. In another cave farther up the hillside is seen the head of a third monk with his hands pressed in grief against his face. From the opposite side of the hill projects a cylindrical tower-like structure.

It is difficult to perceive what relationship the picture bears to the homily. Possibly it was inspired by the following passage: "Let the humble ones who are subject to passions be of good cheer. For even if they fall into all

<sup>26</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, cxiv, cols. 568-581.

<sup>27</sup> *Il Menologio di Basilio II*, pl. 322.

<sup>28</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, lxxxviii, col. 1001C.



the pits, become entangled in all the snares, and fall ill of every ailment, yet after their recovery they will be luminaries and physicians . . . unto all."<sup>29</sup> The figure within the cave might thus be interpreted as a monk who, having recovered from his sins, now acts as physician to an ailing brother.

CHAP. XXVI, PART 2: FOL. 154<sup>r</sup>

The second part of the homily continues in the same vein, and is entitled "On easily distinguished discretion." The decorated initial O (Fig. 57) which marks the beginning encloses a dark-gray stag against a blue background. This is not merely whimsical, but serves to illustrate the opening words,<sup>30</sup> which are taken from Psalm 41: 2: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks. . . ." Here again it appears that the artist has followed the example of the monastic psalters; indeed this verse is illustrated by a remarkably similar stag in Vat. Barb. gr. 372 (fol. 68<sup>v</sup>).

In the right margin is the real illustration of the text (Fig. 58). A kneeling monk with a nimbus holds forth his hands to receive a scroll which is offered to him by the hand of God issuing from the arc of heaven. The inscription reads: ὁ ὁσιος δεχόμε(ν)ο(ς) ἐκ θεοῦ τὸ χάρισμα τῆς διακρίσεως (the holy one receiving from God the gift of discretion). Presumably the "holy one" is John Climacus himself.

The significance of the scene is not hard to grasp, for the author makes the point that discretion is acquired by learning the will of God, and hence that it is in effect a dispensation of divine wisdom. But the miniature has an even more precise connotation, as both the inscription and the iconography make clear: it is derived from the scene of Moses receiving the law. This is confirmed by comparing it with that episode as represented in the Octateuchs. In Vat. gr. 746, for example, the scene is inscribed: ὁ μωϋσῆς δεχόμενος τὰς πλάκας ἐκ χειρὸς θεοῦ (Moses receiving the tablets from the hand of God).<sup>31</sup>

There is no need to assume, however, that the artist turned to an Old Testament manuscript as the source for this motif, for the scene of Moses receiving the law was at times included in gospel books in company with the portraits of the evangelists, thus ascribing to the old law a divine origin equivalent to that of the new dispensation proclaimed by the gospel-writers. This scheme is to be observed in a ninth-century lectionary in the Vatican (cod. gr. 1522), which begins on fol. 1<sup>r</sup> with the Giving of the Law.<sup>32</sup> In

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1016B.      <sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1056D.

<sup>31</sup> Fol. 247<sup>r</sup>. Although here the law is shown as two marble tablets, it is occasionally represented in the form of a scroll, as in the Vatican Cosmas manuscript, cod. gr. 699, fol. 61<sup>v</sup> (C. Stornajolo, *Le miniature della Topografia Cristiana di Cosma Indicopleuste* [Codices e Vaticanis selecti, x], Milan, 1908, pl. 25).

<sup>32</sup> K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, pls. v-vi, nos. 21-25.

other gospel books the scene is employed to illustrate the words of John 1:17: *ὅτι ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐδόθη, ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγένετο* (for the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ). In Berlin, cod. gr. qu. 66, for example, the Giving of the Law, with the above inscription, forms a second frontispiece to John's Gospel (fol. 264<sup>v</sup>). What is more interesting is that Moses is here shown, not striding up the mountain, but kneeling, like John Climacus in the Princeton miniature.

From this excursus the derivation of the illustration and the logic of the whole cycle are seen more clearly. In order to represent John Climacus, as a kind of new Moses on Sinai, being endowed with the grace of discretion, the artist has chosen, probably from a gospel cycle, the scene of the Giving of the Law. There is even an echo of the "grace" (*χάρις*) which came by Christ in the "gift" (*χάρισμα*) of discretion. In characteristic fashion, the model has been transformed so that it harmonizes perfectly with the purely monastic atmosphere of the Climax cycle. This is not the only miniature that emphasizes the connection between Moses and the author: a similar connotation, it will be recalled, is evoked by the "spiritual tablets" on fol. 8<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 32).

CHAP. XXVI, PART 3: FOL. 165<sup>r</sup>

The third section of the chapter is in the nature of a review of what has gone before. In the Princeton manuscript the full title of this part is given as follows: *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀββᾶ ἰωάννου τοῦ σιναίου ὄρους. ἀνακεφαλαίωσις ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τῶν προειρημένων αὐτοῦ λόγων*, which might be freely translated as "a brief summary of the foregoing by the same Abbot John of Mount Sinai." Here the artist has been prompted by the mention of the author's abode to give a representation of Mount Sinai, with the inscription in gold: *τὸ σινᾶ ὄρο(ς)* (Fig. 59). The monastery itself is enclosed by a wall, the turrets of which are topped by crosses, and it lies at the foot of the mountain, as it does in reality. Within the enclosure can be seen the church and other monastic buildings. At the left is a kind of annexed structure, apparently placed outside but doubtless to be understood as being within the walls, at the open window of which sits an aged cenobite reading from a book. From a little cave near the peak of the mountain protrude the head and arm of a solitary, who having withdrawn from human society is obliged to be fed by means of a basket which he lowers on a rope. It is possible that in this detail the miniaturist had a specific feature in mind, for an anchorite's cave of this sort is carefully delineated in sixteenth-century engravings of Sinai.<sup>33</sup> It is more likely, however, that the scene is meant only to show the two op-

<sup>33</sup> V. Beneshevich, *Monumenta Sinaitica*, fasc. I, Leningrad, 1925, p. LXV, fig. 16, and p. LXVI, fig. 18.

posite modes of monastic life—the cenobitic, exemplified by the monastery, and the eremitical, or solitary existence, typified by the anchorite in his cave. John Climacus, as an exponent of both philosophies, makes frequent references to the distinctions between them. In a sense, the miniature offers a parallel to the missing scene on fol. 52<sup>r</sup>, which as we have seen must have been an illustration of the “monastery of the penitents.”

CHAP. XXVII, PART 1: FOL. 169<sup>v</sup>

This sermon, which is in two parts, is devoted entirely to the solitary existence. It is thus not surprising to find that the accompanying illustrations depict various aspects of the eremitical life. The first (Fig. 60), which is set at the head of the chapter, contains a wealth of detail bearing no direct relationship to the text. The scene shows the now-familiar cave, within which an anchorite is engaged in some form of manual labor. Examination reveals that he is carving wooden spoons, using precisely the same adze-like tool as is employed today for this occupation on Mount Athos.<sup>34</sup> In a smaller cavern at the left a second monk is engrossed in reading, with one hand pressed to his face. On either side of the central hill stand two tower-like edifices of stone, from which monks' heads protrude; a similar structure has already been noted on fol. 140<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 56). They are evidently the dwellings of hermits who have secluded themselves perpetually from their fellows. In the foreground is an assemblage of beasts like those on fol. 121<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 53); here there are a hare, a peacock, and a fox (?) drinking from a stream. Nothing in the chapter describes such incidents as these. They are, however, too specific in character to be dismissed merely as inventions, and, as we shall see later, must have been derived from a whole cycle of scenes of hermits.

CHAP. XXVII, PART 2: FOL. 173<sup>r</sup>

The second section of the chapter is a discussion of various methods of solitude. The miniature (Fig. 61) shows three anchorites, two of whom are cave-dwellers, the third being in a kind of tower fitted with a shuttered window and a gabled roof surmounted by a cross. The lower part of the scene has been cut away as a result of the removal of the miniature on the reverse. The central figure holds his hand to his cheek and may have been represented as reading, like the monk at the left of the preceding miniature. The second cave-hermit raises his arms in prayer, as do those on fol. 113<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 50). The monk in the tower places his hand before his mouth in a gesture which may denote silence, or perhaps merely meditation; his removal

<sup>34</sup> See the photograph in Archimandrite Parthenios Iviritis, *Δεύκωμα Ἁγίου Ὁρους Ἀθῶν*, 1928, II, *Μοναχοί*, pl. 20. The spoons are now made chiefly for sale as souvenirs (cf. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, p. 247).

from mankind is emphasized by the food-basket hanging by a rope from a hook beneath the window (cf. the cave-hermit on fol. 165<sup>r</sup>, Fig. 59). Another smaller building is seen on the mountaintop to the right.

The motif of the solitary lowering a basket is usually associated with the pictures of column-saints, or stylites. An example is furnished once again by the Theodore Psalter, in the miniature of Daniel Stylites on fol. 26<sup>v</sup>. Here the saint's column is surmounted by a kind of hut having a window, a pointed roof and a cross, features to be seen in the Climax miniature. But it is entirely unlikely that we have to reckon here with a copyist's misunderstanding of a stylite on his column, such pictures being familiar items of monastic iconography. It is more reasonable to assume that this peculiar structure, like those on fols. 140<sup>r</sup> and 169<sup>v</sup> (Figs. 56 and 60), originated in the cycle of hermit-scenes drawn upon by the illustrator.

FOL. 173<sup>v</sup>

This page contained a miniature (now cut out) connected with a specific passage in the twenty-seventh homily. The gold in which it was outlined has left an impression on fol. 174<sup>r</sup>, making it clear that the missing picture was a ladder of seven rungs (Fig. 62). In the passage in question, St. John envisages the various characteristics of solitaires as a kind of ladder, and enumerates eight principal qualities that determine on which rung they stand.<sup>35</sup> Some, he says, are animated by self-regulation, others by human glory, and so forth, in ascending order of excellence. This imagery is plainly favored by the author, for the idea expressed here is not related to the greater ladder which forms the framework of the book as a whole. But the marginal diagram shows only seven rungs. The reason is that the scribe, in copying the text, inadvertently omitted the fourth of these characteristics—"incontinence in anger." The miniaturist, accordingly, duly provided a ladder consisting of only seven steps. The error was later detected, and the missing words were inserted in small letters within the text at the beginning of the list; an additional rung, moreover, was drawn in red ink at the bottom of the ladder. Part of this extension is still visible beneath the cut-out portion on fol. 173<sup>v</sup>. Not being in gold it has of course left no imprint on the opposite leaf. The passage is also illustrated in Sinai gr. 417, a Climax manuscript of the tenth century (Fig. 4), and in Vat. gr. 394, of the eleventh (Fig. 126).<sup>36</sup> The Sinai codex shows two ladders, each of fifteen rungs, between which the appropriate text passage is framed.

<sup>35</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXVIII, col. 1105B-C.

<sup>36</sup> In both, incidentally, the scribes have omitted the same phrase, δι' ἀκρασίαν θυμού, from the text. The error, to be sure, is easily made, since the phrase begins with exactly the same combination of letters as that preceding it (i.e., δι' ἀσθένειαν γλώσσης).

The subject is "prayer," which is aptly illustrated by the marginal miniature (Fig. 63). A monk stands with uplifted arms, addressing his prayer to Christ, whose likeness, enclosed in a medallion, has since been cut out. The circular imprint left by the gold on fol. 181<sup>r</sup> makes this detail quite certain, for it plainly shows a cruciform nimbus and the words *ἰ(ησοῦ)ς χ(ριστό)ς*. The fragmentary inscription, as restored, reads: [ἐπικάλεσαί με ἐν] ἡμέρα θλίψεώς σου, καὶ ἐξελοῦμαί σε, καὶ δοξάσεις με (call upon me in the day of thine affliction, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me) (Psalm 49: 5). There can be little doubt that the scene is borrowed from the repertory of the monastic psalters. The praying monk addressing a medallion of Christ is of frequent occurrence in the later psalters of this recension, and is indeed peculiar to them alone.

The twenty-ninth rung is "tranquillity." At first glance the miniature (Fig. 64) appears to be without relation to this subject. It represents a hooded monk standing almost upright in a blue sarcophagus, the sides of which are ornamented with a geometric pattern. The half-figure of Christ leans forward from above to grasp his right hand; his left is clutched by a small black demon (partly erased), while other demons in the sarcophagus cling to his feet. Below is a verse which reads: ἀνιστᾷ κ(ύριο)ς ἀπὸ γῆς πέννητα : καὶ ἀπὸ κοπρίας παθῶν ἐγείρει πτωχόν. ἤγουν ταπεινὸν τῇ καρδίᾳ (the Lord lifteth up the needy from the earth, and from the dung-hill of his passions raiseth up the poor man, him that is humble in heart). This is a paraphrase of Psalm 113: 7; the text of the chapter ends with a very similar quotation.<sup>37</sup>

The explanation of the scene lies in the author's definition of tranquillity as "the resurrection of the soul before that of the body" (ἡ ἀνάστασις ψυχῆς πρὸ τοῦ σώματος).<sup>38</sup> The picture has, accordingly, been adapted from the Anastasis—Christ's descent into Hell to raise up Adam and other righteous persons of the Old Testament. This becomes evident when it is compared with its fuller prototype, as represented, for example, in the lectionary fragment in Leningrad (cod. gr. 21, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>).<sup>39</sup> Features to be noted are the flying fold of drapery behind the Lord and the half-crouching posture of Adam, features which find counterparts in the Princeton miniature. It is characteristic of our illustrator that the figure of Adam has been transformed into a monk being rescued from the clutches of demons. It will be recalled that a similar adaptation of the Anastasis is encountered in other Climax manuscripts, in the scene of the heavenly ladder (cf. Fig. 133).

<sup>37</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 1152C. <sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1148C.

<sup>39</sup> C. R. Morey, "Notes on East Christian Miniatures," *Art Bulletin*, XI, 1929, p. 57, fig. 63.



With chapter xxx the monk has reached the topmost rung of the ladder, where he must finally acquire the three supreme virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity. Here again the marginal miniature has been removed. There remains a verse in the upper margin, reading: τῆς ἀγάπης, αὐτός ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν χ(ριστὸς) καὶ θ(εὸς), καὶ ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος παῦλος : τῆς πίστεως, ὁ ἀβραὰμ ὃς ἐκ πίστεως δεδικαίωται. τῆς δὲ ἐλπίδος, ἐνῶς, ὃς πρῶτος ἠλπίσεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν κ(ύριο)ν. ὑπογραμμὸς ἡμῖν ἔστω. This may be construed: "Let our model of charity be our Lord himself, Christ and God, and the divine apostle Paul. Let our model of faith be Abraham, who was justified out of faith. And let our model of hope be Enos, who first hoped to call upon the Lord." On the opposite leaf (fol. 191<sup>r</sup>) there is a faint discoloration in which can be distinguished a row of three figures wearing the nimbus. Closer inspection reveals that they are seated before a table, and that the central figure wears a cruciform nimbus. Above the scene is the inscription ἡ ἀγία τριὰς (the Holy Trinity).<sup>40</sup>

It is not difficult to account for the representation of the Holy Trinity. The mention of Abraham in the inscription recalls the episode in Genesis (18: 2-15) of the three angels entertained by that patriarch. In Byzantine art this event came to be interpreted as a prefiguration of the Holy Trinity. It is in this manner that the scene is conceived in the Octateuchs, as on fol. 30<sup>v</sup> of the lost manuscript of Smyrna.<sup>41</sup> The three divine beings are seated at a table, and the middle figure, as the crossed nimbus shows, is Christ, the identification of the group with the Holy Trinity being established by the inscription ἡ ἀγία τριὰς. The scene appears in the eleventh-century monastic psalters in almost identical form, an example being that on fol. 62<sup>v</sup> of the Theodore Psalter.<sup>42</sup> The final stage in the evolution of this motif is its isolation as an icon of the Trinity, totally divested of narrative associations, as in the well-known painting by Andrew Rublev. The miniature of the Princeton Climax was no doubt inspired to make this adaptation of the scene by the title of the chapter itself, where the author describes Faith, Hope, and Charity as a trinity.<sup>43</sup> In this pictorial synthesis of the Holy Trinity and the three Pauline virtues can be seen the typical working of mediaeval theology, striving to establish the essential unity linking all revelations of divinity.<sup>44</sup> It may be noted, finally, that in Vat. gr. 394, a contemporary Climax manuscript, the personifications of Faith, Hope, and Charity are likewise entitled "the Holy Trinity" (Fig. 130).

<sup>40</sup> The impression left by the inscription is plainly visible under ultraviolet light.

<sup>41</sup> Hesselung, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque grec de Smyrne*, pl. 22, no. 61.

<sup>42</sup> Reproduced in O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, p. 650, fig. 412.

<sup>43</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 1153D.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Nilus (*Tractatus ad Eulogium monachum*): "He that receiveth from the Holy Trinity these three, faith, hope, and charity, shall be a triple-walled city . . ." (Migne, *P.G.*, LXXIX, col. 1108A).



As to the source of the Princeton miniature, there seems every reason to conclude that it was derived from the monastic psalters, which as we have seen frequently offered models to the artist.

THE HEAVENLY LADDER: FOL. 194<sup>r</sup>

The Climax concludes with a short exhortation, following which the scribe has added a verse likening the Cross to a sword and spear against the demons. The miniature on this page (Fig. 66) is the most elaborate of all, and achieves an effect of monumentality without sacrificing the delicacy and minuteness of detail that characterize the smaller marginal vignettes throughout the work. The author himself stands on the left, inscribed: ὁ ὁσιος π(ατ)ῆρ ἡμῶ(ν) ἰωάννης, ὁ τῆς κλίμακος. In his left hand he holds a scroll bearing the opening words of his exhortation: ἀναβαίνετε, ἀναβαίνει(ε), ἀναβάσεις προ(θύμως).<sup>45</sup> His right arm is lowered to indicate a row of six monks below, who have heeded his advice and are hastening toward the ladder; beneath them is the explanatory inscription: φυγή κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πάντ(ων) διὰ κ(ύριον) (flight from the world and from all those in the world, for the sake of the Lord). At the right, filling the entire margin, is the heavenly ladder, bright red in color. Each of its thirty rounds is numbered and inscribed with the appropriate title; the inscription along its right side is now almost totally illegible. Certain monks have already begun the ascent: one stands with his foot on the lowest step, looking back at those who follow, and two have made good progress toward the summit. But two other luckless climbers have missed their footing and are plunging down head foremost into the jaws of the dragon at the base. In a segment of heaven at the top appears the figure of Christ, ἰ(ησοῦ)ς χ(ριστό)ς, holding in his outstretched hands the crowns of victory. There is a note of irony in the fact that one of the falling monks stood almost on the top rung and was about to receive his reward, when overconfidence proved his undoing. The gold cross on a stepped base in the middle of the page has reference to the verse within the text of which it is placed.

The scene forms a complement to the similar composition on fol. 4<sup>r</sup> embodying the table of contents (Fig. 31). In both, the author urges his listeners to make the ascent. But in the first the mood is one of expectation, whereas here—quite fittingly—there is a sense of realization and fulfilment. The compact group of hearers has been dissolved, and one sees instead the agitated procession of monks approaching and mounting the ladder. If the danger has become more real, as exemplified by the dragon and the falling monks, the reward too has been made more tangible, for Christ now offers a crown to those who persevere.

<sup>45</sup> Migne, P.G., LXXXVIII, col. 1160D.

The remainder of the Princeton codex contains the λόγος πρὸς τὸν ποιμένα (the *Homily to the Pastor*), which is likewise addressed to Abbot John of Raithu, and is essentially a description of the ideal abbot, or shepherd, to use the author's terminology. The miniature (Fig. 65) is no more than a picture of John Climacus and the person to whom his words are addressed. The former is inscribed, as before: ὁ ἄ(γ)ιος ἰω(άν)νης ὁ τῆς κλίμακο(ς); he holds a scroll bearing the first words of his sermon: ἐν τῇ μ(έν) κάτ(ω) βίβλῳ ἔγωγέ σε,<sup>46</sup> a device used in the preceding miniature. The second abbot stands with one hand held out before him and the other grasping a staff; the inscription beside him reads: ὁ ἄ(γ)ιος ἰω(άν)νης ὁ τῆς ραῖθοῦ ἡγούμε(εν)ο(ς) (St. John, Abbot of Raithu).

If we discount the illustrations of the ladder, the introductory text, and the *Homily to the Pastor*, the Princeton Climax cycle originally consisted of thirty-seven miniatures. Of these, it is obvious that more than half were conceived for the context in which they stand and that they were not appropriated from another source. This is particularly evident in such pictures as that of "slander" on fol. 82<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 40). The next largest group is that of the scenes of hermits in the desert, which will be discussed later in this study. Five miniatures<sup>47</sup> reveal borrowings, either whole or in part, from the monastic psalters: the praying monk on fol. 180<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 63) exemplifies a composition which has been adopted intact, whereas in the death-scene on fol. 63<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 36) the angel receiving the soul has been superimposed on another picture. Inevitably, the source of certain miniatures must remain uncertain: it is quite possible, for example, that the death-scene in its main outline (Fig. 36) and the figure of John the Calybite were taken from a menologium, although there are other classes of manuscripts which might have offered the same models. Similarly, the kneeling figure on fol. 154<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 58) and the "Anastasis" on fol. 187<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 64) were perhaps adapted from a gospel cycle.

It must now be determined whether these various sources afford an indication of the date of compilation of the cycle. Perhaps the firmest evidence is provided by those miniatures that reveal the influence of the monastic psalters. In considering these instances we have observed that in almost every miniature the borrowed motifs are those appearing only in the eleventh-century copies—the Theodore Psalter in London and Vat. Barb. gr. 372. These two manuscripts, both of Constantinopolitan provenance, contain iconographical features which distinguish them from the copies of

<sup>46</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 1165A.

<sup>47</sup> Fols. 128<sup>r</sup>, 180<sup>v</sup>, 190<sup>v</sup>, 121<sup>v</sup> (the icon), and 63<sup>v</sup> (the angel). The list might also include the stag in the initial on fol. 154<sup>r</sup>.

the ninth and tenth centuries, exemplified respectively by the Chludoff Psalter in Moscow and the Bristol Psalter in London (Brit. Mus., Add. MS 40731). In the light of this dependence on the later manuscripts, our conclusion must be that the Princeton Climax cycle itself cannot be earlier than the eleventh century.

The high quality of its style suggests that the Princeton Climax was produced in a monastery in Constantinople, which is quite in keeping with its evident relationship to monastic psalters of the same provenance. The iconography reveals further that its cyclic illustration does not follow an old tradition, but that it was compiled from a variety of sources, some of which evince a date no earlier than the eleventh century. It is even possible that the process of compilation took place in the manuscript itself (which is dated 1081), and that the miniatures are not copied from another book; but this of course it is impossible to prove. The cycle possesses remarkable logic and consistency: without once violating the principle of purely monastic subject-matter, the illustrator has succeeded in evoking appropriate reminiscences of Biblical and other iconography.

## 2. *Vat. gr. 394 and Stauronikita 50*

The best-known and most copiously illustrated Climax manuscript is that in the Vatican Library bearing the signature codex gr. 394. It may be dated, on stylistic grounds, in the later years of the eleventh century. The system of illustration of this handsome manuscript is much more complex than that of the Princeton Climax, with which it is approximately contemporary. The numerous miniatures may be divided into three categories: (1) Each chapter is preceded by a title picture, usually representing John Climacus teaching before a company of listening monks. (2) At the end of each chapter is placed a miniature of a monk scaling a ladder, the number of rungs increasing with each step throughout the work so that the reader is given a graphic demonstration of the monk's upward progress. The concluding illustration of one chapter is usually set beside the title picture of the next, which creates the misleading impression of a double introductory miniature (cf. Fig. 98). (3) In addition, individual passages in the text are occasionally illustrated by vignettes placed either in the margin or within the columns of writing.

Most of the illustrations, again in contrast to the Princeton manuscript, are heavily allegorical in character, with numerous personifications of abstract qualities. Altogether they constitute what must be the most extensive collection of Byzantine personifications that has been preserved.

Closely related to the Vatican Climax is a fourteenth-century manuscript in the monastery of Stauronikita on Mount Athos (codex 50). The similarity

extends even to the textual matter, because both manuscripts contain, in addition to the *Heavenly Ladder* and the *Homily to the Pastor*, the *Centuriae de caritate* (περὶ ἀγάπης) of Maximus Confessor. The illustrations are in each case limited to the writings of John Climacus. The *Stauronikita Climax* offers an abbreviated version of the pictorial cycle of Vat. gr. 394. The artist, evidently finding this too copious for his purpose, selected only the simplest miniatures—those of the monk ascending the ladder—which are reproduced with such fidelity as to suggest that they were copied directly from the Vatican manuscript. But the copyist unfortunately failed to realize that these scenes were not title pictures, and that their proper position was at the end of the chapters. In consequence nearly all are misplaced, a situation which the miniaturist attempted to amend at intervals, but without much success. A further difficulty arose when in some places he found no ladder-scene in his model; here he was compelled to invent a composition to avoid leaving a gap. We may now turn our attention once more to Vat. gr. 394, mentioning the corresponding miniatures of *Stauronikita* 50 in the course of the description.

THE HEAVENLY LADDER: FOL. F<sup>v</sup>

The first miniature of the Vatican Climax represents monks scaling the ladder (Fig. 67). The picture is an addition of the fourteenth century, perhaps replacing a lost original. In the discussion of the iconography of this scene it was pointed out that the miniature contains even more elements borrowed from the Last Judgment than are normally present in pictures of the ladder. The background is blue and the ladder gold. The inscriptions—ὁ ἄ(γίος) ἰω(άννης) over the author, and ἱ(ησοῦ)ς χ(ριστό)ς above the Lord—are in red, as is the border surrounding the miniature.

It is possible that the appearance of the original illustration is preserved in the frontispiece of *Stauronikita* 50 (Fig. 133), which follows the more traditional iconography. Here the background is gold, and there are no inscriptions. The flowered border seen around this and other miniatures in the *Stauronikita* manuscript is a subsequent embellishment of the fifteenth century.

THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS: FOL. 5<sup>r</sup>

Only John Climacus' answer to John of Raithu is accompanied by a picture, the first of the two letters being left without illustration. The miniature (Fig. 68) represents the author delivering his letter of reply. The saint, who is inscribed ὁ ἄ(γίος) ἰω(άννης) but has no nimbus, is enthroned beneath a slender baldachin, with a messenger bowing before him. The ceremony is witnessed by five monks standing reverently on either side before a fanciful

arcaded background. Within a narrow edifice at the left sits another monk, perhaps to be interpreted as John of Raithu awaiting the response to his request.

The illustrator of Stauronikita 50, primarily intent on simplification, invariably avoids copying those scenes in which the author is seated amidst an assemblage of monks. For this miniature (Fig. 134), though in shape it is similar to that in the Vatican codex, he has seen fit to delineate only the figure of a standing monk, presumably the author, with one hand extended and the other grasping a staff. As an illustration of the exchange of letters it is hardly satisfactory, and may be accounted an invention designed to obviate the laborious copying of a complex figure-group.

THE AUTHOR PORTRAIT: FOL. 6<sup>v</sup>

The iconography of this splendid miniature (Fig. 69) has already been treated. The saint wears a brownish-yellow tunic and chocolate-brown mantle, and sits before an architectural setting of pale violet, heightened by blue and white ornament and bright red roofs. An inscription, hardly visible on the gold ground, reads: ὁ ἄ(γίος) ἰω(άννης) ὁ τ(ῆ)ς κλίμ(α)κο(ς).

The Stauronikita portrait (Fig. 135), although similar in general composition and the use of a gold background, is by no means a close copy. The monk who witnesses the saint at his work has been omitted, and the architecture, which is an olive-gray in color, has been transformed so as to conform to the style of the fourteenth century (see the Catalogue, No. 6). Unfortunately, the features of the author have been obliterated, so that it is impossible to determine whether the facial type is the same.

CHAP. I, TITLE: FOL. 7<sup>r</sup>

An elaborate illustration (Fig. 70) precedes the first chapter in the Vatican Climax ("on renunciation of life"). Most of the field is occupied by a gold rectangle; at the left the author, ὁ ἄ(γίος) ὁ τ(ῆ)ς κλίμακο(ς), addresses a dense group of persons, ὁ λαός. In a blue mandorla above, to which St. John points, is a representation of the Holy Trinity—God the Father, the Christ child, and the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove—with the inscription: ἰ(ησοῦ)ς χ(ριστός) ὁ παλαιός τῶν ἡμερῶν (Jesus Christ, the ancient of days). There is a second scene at the right, only partly within the gold rectangle, showing a monk, ὁ (μον)αχ(ός),<sup>48</sup> carrying a basket on a staff and turning away from the nude figure of Life, ὁ βίος, to follow a female personification inscribed ἡ ἀπροσπάθ(εια) (Dispassionateness). Above is what may be

χ

<sup>48</sup> The abbreviation α is commonly used in mid-Byzantine manuscripts to denote μοναχός. Cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, s.v. μοναχός.



taken as the title of the scene: ἡ φυ(γῆ) κόσμου, flight from the world. The garments of the woman are light blue and violet adorned with gold.

The original plan for this illustration evidently included only the scene within the rectangle, which was accordingly to have been enclosed between the ornamental trees seen lightly sketched in on either side. The artist then decided to expand the composition by adding the three figures at the right (one of which is painted directly over the tree-motif), and to leave the ornamental features uncompleted.

The principal scene appears to have been inspired, in part, by a passage in the first chapter, reading: "A Christian is he that imitateth Christ, in so far as this is possible to man, and rightly and blamelessly believeth in the Holy Trinity in words, in deeds, and in thought."<sup>49</sup> The Trinity is normally pictured in Byzantine art as the three angels entertained by Abraham; this is the earliest instance known to me of its being represented as Father and Son with the dove of the Holy Ghost.<sup>50</sup> The new iconography reappears in a twelfth-century gospel book in Vienna (cod. suppl. gr. 52), with the same inscription, "the ancient of days."<sup>51</sup>

The compact group of "people" (ὁ λαός) standing opposite the author is of particular interest. The foremost figure, at the left, is the apostle Paul, holding a book in one hand and raising the other toward the Trinity. Close behind him is seen the head of St. Peter.<sup>52</sup> A monk stands in the center, and at the extreme right is a man in a long tunic. The entire group, it seems evident, must represent those who renounce the world. They are headed by the apostles, from whom, as Nilus says, "came the monastic way of life."<sup>53</sup> Then follows, appropriately, a monk. And finally there stands at the rear a layman who has yet to leave the world.

The right portion of the title picture reveals quite another ancestry. The monk turns aside from Life to follow Dispassionateness, the latter being the subject of chapter II. Hardly visible in this miniature, but clearly so in that on fol. 12<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 72), are the wheels on which the nude personification of life stands.

There is no textual motivation in the Climax for this detail, which goes back to an antique conception, originally applied to *καιρός*, or time, in the

<sup>49</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXVIII, col. 633B.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. A. Heimann, "L'iconographie de la Trinité," *L'art chrétien*, I, 1934, pp. 38ff., fig. on p. 39.

<sup>51</sup> *ibid.*, fig. on p. 40. P. Buberl and H. Gerstinger, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften*, II (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, new series, IV, pt. 4), Leipzig, 1938, pp. 53f., pl. XXIII, no. I.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. the figures of Peter and Paul in a miniature of Dionysiu cod. 587, representing the Mission of the Apostles (K. Weitzmann, "The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations," *New Testament Manuscript Studies* [ed. by M. M. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren], Chicago, 1950, pl. XXIV). The signature is here given as cod. 740.

<sup>53</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, LXXIX, col. 996C-D.



sense of opportunity.<sup>54</sup> An epigram by Posidippus in the Greek Anthology describes a statue of *Kairos* said to be by Lysippus; the figure had winged feet and a long forelock, and held a razor. The wheels are not mentioned, but seem to be implied by the use of the verb τροχάω.<sup>55</sup> *Kairos* is portrayed in an amusing miniature in Laura H 16, an Athonite manuscript dated 1602.<sup>56</sup> This, as the inscription makes clear, is an illustration of Posidippus' epigram. The forelock and the razor are prominently delineated, and the figure stands on wheels. An ancient pictorial tradition is surely reflected, however dimly, in this miniature. Even more interesting is a Latin epigram by Ausonius, in which Opportunity is described as standing on a wheel, holding a balance, and accompanied by Remorse.<sup>57</sup> The word *metanoëa* (= μετάνοια) points to a Greek origin. This conception is illustrated on the famous relief in the Cathedral of Torcello;<sup>58</sup> in the center is the semi-nude form of Opportunity on winged wheels, holding a balance in one hand and a razor in the other. The figure at the left has succeeded in firmly grasping Opportunity by the forelock; but the older man on the right has failed, and so has only the sorrowing person of Remorse as his companion.

These epigrams, and the works related to them, exemplify the classical concept, according to which man strives to "take time by the forelock," that is, to seize opportunity. But the Climax miniatures, using similar terms, express the exact antithesis of this idea: opportunity becomes life, and dispassionateness replaces remorse. Life, moreover, is to be abjured precisely because of its fleeting nature. The monk therefore turns aside from its passing vanity to follow the beckonings of Dispassionateness. This is borne out more clearly by the miniature on fol. 12<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 72), where the monk, having left his wife and children, says to the figure of Life standing before him: "Life is a shadow and a dream." In his analysis of these allegorical representations, Muñoz cites an epigram by the Byzantine poet Manuel Philes, which, although patterned after a classical model, emphasizes the vanity

<sup>54</sup> An exhaustive analysis of *Kairos* is given by A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 859ff. See also A. Muñoz, "Le rappresentazioni allegoriche della vita nell' arte bizantina," *L'arte*, VII, 1904, pp. 130ff.; *idem*, *Studi d'arte medioevale*, Rome, 1909, pp. 8ff.; and V. Grecu, "Die Darstellung des *Kairos* bei den Byzantinern," *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini*, II, Rome, 1940, pp. 147ff.

<sup>55</sup> *The Greek Anthology*, ed. by W. R. Paton (Loeb Classical Library), London, 1916-26, V, p. 324. Cf. Muñoz, *Studi d'arte*, p. 12.

<sup>56</sup> Spyridon and S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Laura*, Cambridge, Mass., 1925, p. 105, no. 671. The inscription reads: *Καιρὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ. ἐπίγραμμα εἰς ἄγαλμα τοῦ καιροῦ· ποσειδίππου.*

<sup>57</sup> Ausonius, ed. by H. G. E. White (Loeb Classical Library), London, 1919-21, II, pp. 174ff. Muñoz, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>58</sup> Muñoz, *op.cit.*, pp. 11ff., pl. III. Cf. also the Coptic relief of *Kairos* in the Cairo Museum (J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst* [Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire], Vienna, 1904, p. 103, fig. 159).

and uselessness of temporal pursuits.<sup>59</sup> Here Life is made to say: "I am a shadow." As Muñoz rightly observes, the same conception is given pictorial form in the miniatures of Vat. gr. 394. But this imagery can be found in writings of much earlier date than Manuel Philes. The *Capita paraenetica* of the sixth-century author Nilus, for example, contains the following: "Likened the pains and joys of life to a shadow and a wheel: for like a shadow they stand not fast, and like a wheel they roll away."<sup>60</sup> It is evident that, in transforming the classical representation of Time into its ascetic guise as Life, the artist has merely followed the example set by patristic writers.

The miniature that precedes the first chapter in the *Stauronikita Climax* (Fig. 136) is of a very different kind. Within a gold rectangle a monk stands on a ladder of one rung, with arms upraised, gazing at the diminutive form of an angel in the upper right. A later hand has added a cross to the angel's nimbus, but, since the head is beardless, it can hardly have been meant to be Christ. In the Vatican *Climax* the monk is shown ascending the ladder only at the end of the chapters, in a series which the *Stauronikita* copyist took to refer to what follows, rather than to what goes before. Thus, as we shall see, he applied the picture at the conclusion of the first chapter to the beginning of the second, and so forth. As a result he was left with no picture to commence the series, and was compelled to invent one which should conform to the remainder. It seems possible that in so doing he transformed the figure of the author on fol. 7<sup>r</sup> of the Vatican manuscript (Fig. 70) into the supplicant monk standing on the first rung.

FOL. 7<sup>v</sup>

Within the first chapter of the Vatican *Climax* is a second miniature (Fig. 71), resembling somewhat the title illustration. The author, inscribed  $\delta \alpha(\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma) \iota\omega(\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\eta\varsigma \delta \tau(\eta)\varsigma \kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron(s)$ , is almost a replica of the figure in the preceding picture. In a medallion above is a bust-portrait of Christ,  $\iota(\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon)\varsigma \chi(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o})\varsigma$ , blessing and holding a scroll. At the right is a group of people, the first of whom is a monk, the inscription reading, as before,  $\delta \lambda\alpha\acute{o}\varsigma$ . The text passage directly below, to which the scene refers, may be translated as follows: "God is life unto all men of free will; he is salvation unto all, both unto them that believe and unto them that disbelieve, unto the just and unjust, the pious and the impious, both monks and men in the world. . . ."<sup>61</sup> The scene has no counterpart in *Stauronikita* 50.

FOL. 12<sup>r</sup>

The miniature at the bottom of fol. 12<sup>r</sup> has already been referred to (Fig. 72, left side). Before a house sits a woman holding out her hands

<sup>59</sup> Muñoz, *op.cit.*, pp. 8ff.

<sup>60</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, LXXIX, col. 1260D.

<sup>61</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXVIII, col. 633A.

disconsolately; the inscription describes her as "the wife of the monk"—*ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ (μον)αχ(οῦ)*. Two small children, *οἱ παῖδες τοῦ (μον)αχ(οῦ)*, make similar gestures. The nude form of Life, *ὁ βίος*, strides on wheels toward the monk, *ὁ (μον)αχ(ός)*, who spreads forth his arms. The inscriptions read: *ἄπελθ(ε) (μον)αχ(ε) εἰς τ(ὴν) καταλύουσιν ἀπροσπάθ(ειαν)* (depart, O monk, unto dispassionateness which bringeth peace); and: *ὁ δὲ βίος(ς) σκιά κ(αὶ) ἐνύπνια* (life is a shadow and a dream). The dangers inherent in domestic attachments are heavily stressed by John Climacus throughout the first homily, which explains the inclusion of the monk's wife and children. "For whosoever in the world is unmarried," says the author, "is bound by his affairs only, and is like unto one who hath fetters fixed to his hands: wherefore, when he desireth to hasten to the monastic life, he is not hindered. But he that is married is like unto one shackled with bonds on hands and feet."<sup>62</sup>

CHAP. I, CONCLUSION: FOL. 12<sup>r</sup>

The concluding illustration of the first chapter is found on the same page (Fig. 72, right side). A monk, *ὁ (μον)αχ(ός)*, stands on the first rung, raising his arms and looking up at the hand of God which issues from a segment of heaven above. The inscription proceeding diagonally from his mouth reads: *δόξα σοι ὁ θεὸς ὁ λυτρώσας μ(ον) τὸν μάτ(αιον) βίον* (glory unto thee, O God, who hast taken from me this vain life). Facing him is a female personification holding out her hands in a beckoning gesture; the inscription beside her reads: *ἡ ἀπροσπάθ(εια) καλ(ῇ) ἡλθ(εν) φίλ(ε), εἰ μὴ στραφῇ(ς) εἰς τ(ὴν) ὀπίσ(ω), εἰ μὴ ἐμοῦ συζευχθῇς πάσ(ας) τὰς ἀρετ(ὰς) κατορθ(οίς)* (Beauteous Dispassionateness hath come, my friend. If thou turnest not back, but weddest thyself to me, thou wilt acquire all the virtues). She is, then, the same person as that in the title miniature (Fig. 70). One might expect to find her named "Renunciation," dispassionateness being the subject of the second homily. But the remainder of the inscription appropriately echoes the admonition at the close of chapter I: "Let him that hath mounted [the first step] turn not back."<sup>63</sup>

The Stauronikita miniature (Fig. 137) is almost a replica of this composition, and like it is placed at the end of the first homily. There are no inscriptions, and the hand of God appears outside the frame of the gold rectangle. But the ladder has two rungs, which indicates that the artist conceived of the picture as introducing the second chapter.

CHAP. II, TITLE: FOL. 12<sup>v</sup>

The complex miniature at the head of the second chapter in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 73) consists of three compartments, each one showing several episodes in two or more registers. The background of the central compartment is gold.

<sup>62</sup> *ibid.*, col. 640B.<sup>63</sup> *ibid.*, col. 644B.

St. John Climacus, ὁ ἄ(γιος) ἰω(άννης) ὁ τ(ῆ)ς κλήμ(ακος), stands in the upper center of the composition, turning his head toward three elderly monks, each of whom is inscribed ὁ (μον)αχ(ός). The author is without a nimbus. With one hand he points to Christ, ἰ(ησοῦ)ς χ(ριστό)ς, who is clad in gold and enthroned on a rainbow amidst five celestial beings in imperial garments; the other is directed to seven persons standing below, who are inscribed: οἱ γονεῖς, οἱ φίλοι, οἱ ἀδελφοί (parents, friends, and brothers). The brilliant hues of their lay garments form an effective contrast to the somber colors of the monks.

The enthroned Christ at the top forms part of the Last Judgment, a subject continued in the compartment at the right. In the upper section is Paradise, ὁ παράδ(εισος), a garden of fruit trees; seated therein are Abraham, ὁ ἀβραάμ, and the Virgin, who is flanked by two angels. Immediately below is the lake of fire, which is fed by a fiery stream descending from the throne of Christ. Angels of the same red color thrust three sinners into the lake, where a dragon awaits them and four other figures, including an emperor and a bishop, are already immersed. The inscription entitles the scene αἱ κολά(σεις), the torments. At the bottom are three naked souls in hell, and beside them three heads and three skulls.

The left-hand compartment is made up of four little scenes representing worldly pursuits. The first shows a man taking his ease beneath a grapevine bower, while a servant waves a fan over him. The inscription reads: ἡ ἀπόλαυσ(ι)ς (enjoyment). In the second vignette are two laborers, one plucking grapes from a vine and the other carrying a basket on his shoulder; the inscription reads: κτήματ(α) (possessions). Then follow two sowers, one scattering the seed held in his upturned tunic, and the other digging the ground with a spade. The scene is entitled σπέρμ(ατος) ὁ σπορεύς (the sower of seed). In the last vignette a husbandman ploughs the ground with a yoke of oxen, the inscription reading: ἐν βοῦσι ἀροτριά (he ploughs with oxen).

The explanation of the composition as a whole is found in the opening words of the chapter, where John Climacus counsels the rejection of worldly affairs and the contemplation of things eternal. "He that truly loveth the Lord," he begins, "and truly seeketh to reach the kingdom which is to come; he that truly laboreth on account of his sins, and truly keepeth remembrance of punishment and everlasting judgment; he that truly hath a continual fear of death shall no longer love, nor heed, nor care for anything earthly whatsoever—neither riches, nor possessions, nor the glory of this life, neither friends, nor brothers."<sup>64</sup> All this is graphically set forth in the miniature. In the center are the monks, above the friends and relatives whom they have forsaken. On one side are the affairs of the world, and on the other the awful

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.*, col. 653B-C.

events of the Last Day. The representation of the Last Judgment may be compared with the miniature on fol. 51<sup>r</sup> of Paris gr. 74 (Fig. 295), with which it is approximately contemporary. Here the essential elements of the scene are duplicated: the Lord enthroned within a mandorla, the river of fire and the angels casting sinners into the fiery lake, the skulls and naked souls in Hell, and the Virgin and Abraham seated in Paradise.

For the four little scenes of worldly pursuits, the artist has made selections from pictures illustrating the labors of the months.<sup>65</sup> Two such cycles may be considered here for purposes of comparison. An important series of calendar pictures is contained in Vatopedi 1199, a typicon of the fourteenth century;<sup>66</sup> and an abbreviated cycle is offered by a gospel book in Venice (Marc. gr. 540), in which the labors are pictured on the capitals of the Eusebian canon tables.<sup>67</sup> In the former manuscript<sup>68</sup> August is represented by a man finding relief from the summer heat by lying on a couch under a shady tree, while a female attendant waves a fan and proffers a pitcher of water. Much the same elements, except for the pitcher, are present in the first of the scenes in the Climax miniature.

The second vignette represents the vintage, which is the work of September. In Venice gr. 540, only the man with the basket is shown, whereas in Vatopedi 1199<sup>69</sup> the husbandman plucks the fruit, like the second figure in the Climax illustration. On an ivory plaque in Berlin<sup>70</sup> both elements are combined: here a single figure plucks grapes from a vine and deposits them in a basket at his feet.

The sower in the third vignette, who typifies the labor of December, is found also in the abbreviated cycle of Venice gr. 540. Beside him is a man breaking the ground with a spade.<sup>71</sup>

The last scene, representing a ploughman, finds a close counterpart in the November miniature of Vatopedi 1199.<sup>72</sup> The four little scenes are, then,

<sup>65</sup> On this subject see J. C. Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art*, Princeton, 1938.

<sup>66</sup> J. Strzygowski, "Eine trapezuntische Bilderhandschrift vom Jahre 1346," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XIII, 1890, pp. 241ff. (illustrated by line-drawings).

<sup>67</sup> *idem*, "Die Monatscyclen der byzantinischen Kunst," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XI, 1888, pp. 23ff. (with illustration).

<sup>68</sup> E. Jeanselme, "Les calendriers de régime à l'usage des byzantins et la tradition hippocratique," *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger*, Paris, 1924, pl. v, no. 2 (wrongly identified as "December"). Strzygowski, "Eine trapezuntische Bilderhandschrift," fig. on p. 258.

<sup>69</sup> Strzygowski, *op.cit.*, fig. on p. 247.

<sup>70</sup> A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII Jahrhunderts*, I, Berlin, 1930, p. 52, pl. LIV, no. 83. The plaque is inscribed СЕПТЕМ(В)РНОС.

<sup>71</sup> In Venice gr. 540 this digging figure is inscribed "November"; but in Vat. gr. 394 it is doubtless meant to be part of the sowing scene, especially since the ploughman below represents November.

<sup>72</sup> Strzygowski, *op.cit.*, fig. on p. 249.

the occupations of August, September, December, and November, which are presented as typical of mundane activities.

The title picture to chapter II in Stauronikita 50, as one might expect, has been omitted. Space was, however, left for a miniature on fol. 20<sup>v</sup>; this was filled during the fifteenth century by an ornamental panel consisting of bluish gray floral patterns on a gold background.

CHAP. II, CONCLUSION: FOL. 14<sup>v</sup>

In the Vatican Climax the concluding illustration of chapter II (Fig. 74, the left portion) has been merged with the succeeding scene against a common gold background. It is, however, to be regarded as a separate picture. The monk,  $\delta$  ( $\mu\omicron\nu$ ) $\alpha\chi(\acute{o}s)$ , now stands on the second rung and lifts his hands as if seeking divine guidance. Precisely the same illustration is found in the Stauronikita manuscript (Fig. 138). But here it is made to serve as the title picture of the third homily, and another rung has accordingly been added to the ladder.

CHAP. III, TITLE: FOL. 14<sup>v</sup>

The real title picture of the third chapter, "on pilgrimage," is that on the right side of the Vatican miniature just described (Fig. 74). The monk,  $\delta$  ( $\mu\omicron\nu$ ) $\alpha\chi(\acute{o}s)$ , with a basket carried over his shoulder as on fol. 7<sup>r</sup>, sets out from his home to follow Pilgrimage. His parents,  $\omicron\iota$   $\gamma\omicron\nu(\acute{\epsilon}\iota)s$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$  ( $\mu\omicron\nu$ ) $\alpha\chi(\omicron\upsilon)$ , stand in front of their house with gestures expressive of grief. Pilgrimage, personified as a young woman, strides forward vigorously, urging the monk on and holding an uprooted cypress tree in her hand. The inscription at the right, in red ink, reads:  $\eta$   $\xi\epsilon\nu\iota\tau(\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha)$ , to which a later hand has added in brown ink:  $\lambda(\acute{\epsilon})\gamma(\epsilon\iota)$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta(\epsilon)$   $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\tau(\eta\nu)$   $\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$   $\upsilon\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\eta\nu$  (Pilgrimage saith, Depart unto blessed obedience). The author warns his readers against being dissuaded by parents from entering the religious life. "Have no pity for the tears of parents or friends," he writes, "otherwise thou shalt shed tears eternally."<sup>73</sup> The curious motif of the tree held by Pilgrimage appears to have reference to a passage in the preceding homily, in which Climacus speaks metaphorically: "I have seen many and divers trees of virtue [ $\phi\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ ] planted by those in the world; and they were as if watered by vainglory, . . . sustained by outward show, and manured by commendation. And yet when they were transplanted into desert ground, which was inaccessible to men of the world, and were deprived of the evil-smelling water of vainglory, they were straightway withered. For trees so watered are not wont to bear fruit in harsh and arid places of discipline."<sup>74</sup> As the monk

<sup>73</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 668B.

<sup>74</sup> *ibid.*, col. 656C.



sets forth into the desert, Pilgrimage carries his "tree of virtue," which will be tested by replanting.

CHAP. III, PART 2: FOL. 17<sup>v</sup>

The second part of the chapter is a discussion of the dreams experienced by novices. The miniature in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 75) consists of two distinct scenes, that at the left belonging to the first half of the homily, and that at the right to the second. The first scene is virtually a repetition of its predecessor, with the monk following in the wake of Pilgrimage, except that the parents are omitted. The inscription at the left has an unusually particular note: ὁ (μον)αχ(ὸς) ἀπερχόμε(ενος) εἰς τ(ὸ) κοινόβιο(ν) τοῦ λουφαδίου (the monk departing for the cenobium of the Louphadion). No such monastery is mentioned in the text, nor do I know of any bearing this name.

The second scene, at the right, represents a monk lying asleep on the ground with two angels bending over him. At his feet are two youths wearing the chlamys, and at his head, his parents standing before their home. The inscriptions make it clear that all these persons are demons in disguise witnessed by the monk in his dream: the young men are δαίμο(νες) μάρτυρες, demons as martyrs; and the father and mother are δαίμ(ο)ν(ες) οἱ γονεῖς αὐτ(οῦ), demons as his parents. The inscription over the angels merely reads: ἄγγελοι. Then follows: δαίμ(ο)ν(ες) μετεσχηματίσθ(ησαν) εἰς μάρτ(υρες) εἰς ἄγ(γέλους) κ(αὶ) εἰς τ(οὺς) γον(εῖ)ς (demons have transformed themselves into martyrs, angels, and parents). The scene is based on the author's words. After we have made our pilgrimage, he warns, "the demons will attempt to disturb us with dreams, showing us our relatives lamenting or dying, or grieving for us. . . . They often transform themselves into an angel of light and the likeness of martyrs."<sup>75</sup>

The miniaturist of Stauronikita 50 at this point elected to copy the scene on the right, so that for once his title picture is correctly placed (Fig. 139). In characteristic fashion, however, he has simplified it, omitting the martyrs, the parents, and the architectural setting. But he exhibits some originality in the modification of the rocky ground to form a more adequate base for the sleeping monk, and in the graceful sweep of the angel's wings.

FOL. 18<sup>r</sup>

An amusing marginal vignette in the Vatican Climax (Fig. 76) shows a man in a long blue tunic with arms outstretched, striding toward a black figure lying on the ground, whose arms are similarly extended. The inscription

<sup>75</sup> *ibid.*, cols. 669C-672A. This was pointed out by Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, p. 8.

# THE CYCLIC ILLUSTRATION OF THE TEXT

σκιὰ explains that this is the man's shadow. In the text passage alongside, the author observes that "he . . . that believeth in dreams is like unto one that runneth after his shadow, thinking to catch it."<sup>76</sup>

CHAP. III, CONCLUSION: FOL. 18<sup>v</sup>

The chapter closes with the following admonition: "The third rung is equal in number with the Trinity. Let him that hath ascended it look neither to the right nor to the left."<sup>77</sup> This counsel is literally observed by the monk in the miniature (Fig. 77), who, standing on the third step, rigidly fastens his gaze on the arc of heaven above. The inscription identifies him as ὁ (μον)αχ(ος) σάββας (the monk Sabbas). The Stauronikita miniature (Fig. 140) is set unequivocally at the head of chapter IV, where it is clearly out of place, the artist having even neglected to alter the number of rungs to four, which would have sufficiently corrected the matter.

CHAP. IV, TITLE: FOL. 19<sup>r</sup>

At the top of this splendid miniature (Fig. 78) is a blue arc of heaven, with the bust of Christ in gold garments, inscribed ἰ(ησοῦ)ς χ(ριστό)ς. Below, at the left, are three monks, one of whom holds a staff. John Climacus, ὁ ᾄ(γιος) ἰω(άννης), turns his head to regard them, pointing with one hand to the Lord, and with the other to David, ὁ προφ(ήτης) δα(νί)δ, who stands opposite. The prophet, in turn, who is dressed in imperial array, likewise points to Christ, and at the same time indicates Obedience and Pilgrimage, ὑπακοή καὶ ξενιτ(εία). Both personifications stand with heads bowed meekly. Three aged monks complete the composition on the right side. Again the author has no nimbus. David and the female figures are clad in garments of rose, blue, green, and gold; the habits of the monks are brown and light blue. The entire background is gold.

The scene illustrates the opening words of the chapter: "Henceforth," the author begins, "the remainder of our discourse rightly concerneth the warriors and athletes of Christ. As the flower precedeth all fruit, even so doth pilgrimage precede all obedience. . . . For on these two virtues, as on golden wings, the blessed soul riseth steadily unto heaven. Was it perchance of this that he sang who had received the Holy Spirit [i.e. David]: 'Oh that I had wings like a dove; for then would I fly away and be at rest'?"<sup>78</sup> In the miniature, accordingly, the author addresses the monks—the "athletes of Christ"—and David duly points to Obedience and Pilgrimage as if to confirm that his words do indeed refer to these virtues.

<sup>76</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 669C.

<sup>77</sup> *ibid.*, col. 672B.

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.*, col. 677C. The reference is to Psalm 54: 7.

FOLS. 20<sup>v</sup>, 21<sup>r</sup>, AND 21<sup>v</sup>

In the fourth and fifth homilies, which are unusually rich in narrative content, the author relates a series of anecdotes concerning the monks of the monastery near Alexandria, where religious discipline was of the most unyielding sort. One of these tales, from the fourth chapter, is illustrated in the Vatican manuscript by marginal miniatures. The story tells of the obedience shown by a thief who desired to enter the monastic life.<sup>79</sup> In the first scene (Fig. 79) he is shown seeking admission by kneeling before the abbot. Two other monks look on in wonderment. In the next picture (Fig. 80, left side), the figures stand on either side of the column of text; here the abbot consents to accept the reformed criminal as a novice, but orders him to make public confession of his sins. To this the thief eagerly agrees. The third scene, in the right margin of the same page, shows the penitent, his hands tied behind him as described in the text, being led to the church, while the monks raise their arms in pious dismay. When he reaches the door of the church, the abbot suddenly orders him to halt, as being unworthy to enter. This episode is illustrated in the fourth vignette (Fig. 81, above), where the penitent, thoroughly alarmed, falls to the ground in tears before the watching brethren. In the final scene, directly below, he confesses his vicious ways amid the whole assembly of monks. The angel visible at the left confirms, by his very presence, the salvation of the thief's soul.

CHAP. V, TITLE: FOL. 41<sup>r</sup>

There is no concluding miniature to the fourth homily in Vat. gr. 394. The title picture of chapter v, "on penitence" (Fig. 82), is a variant form of the scenes of instruction that occur so frequently throughout the manuscript. It seems clear that for the most part the scene is based on the following passage in the text: "Gather together and draw nigh, come and hearken, and I will expound unto you. All you who have provoked God to anger, assemble yourselves and see what he hath revealed unto my soul for your edification. . . . Rise up and stand fast, you who lie fallen for your sins. Attend, my brethren, unto this my discourse."<sup>80</sup> The picture shows the monks assembling before the author, ὁ ἄ(γίος) ἰω(άννης), who holds a staff and sits in a high wicker chair at the left. Thus far the scene finds adequate explanation in the words of the text. But two details remain to be accounted for. At the right are two aged brethren who are unable to walk; one is borne in a wicker chair by two younger men, and the second is carried on the back of another monk. There is nothing in the text that describes these episodes. They are, moreover, too specific in character to have been invented merely

<sup>79</sup> *ibid.*, cols. 681C-684C.<sup>80</sup> *ibid.*, col. 764C.

to illustrate those "who lie fallen" for their sins. Their significance will be considered later in this study.

There being no illustration of the monk on the ladder between the fourth and fifth chapters of Vat. gr. 394, the artist of the Stauronikita Climax was confronted with a gap in his series. As before, he has made no attempt to copy the teaching scene with its involved figure-group, but has substituted a picture of his own creation (Fig. 141). It represents a monk standing frontally with arms extended to the sides, and turning his head toward a female figure who stretches forth her hand in a gesture of address. The latter, almost effaced, is presumably meant to be Penitence. When working from the model, the artist carefully preserves the style and animation of the forms, and is quite capable of introducing intelligent revisions. But in such miniatures as this, where he has been left to his own resources, he exhibits a notable lack of originality: the figures are dry and uninteresting, and the draperies are arranged in stiff, parallel folds, in marked contrast to the more lively drawing of the remaining scenes.

FOLS. 41<sup>v</sup>-49<sup>v</sup>

Chapter v in the Vatican manuscript is provided with a series of twenty-one scenes illustrating the author's visit to the "prison of the penitents," the self-condemned inmates of which practiced extreme bodily austerities. Most of the pictures illustrate the text so aptly that it is hardly necessary to do more than quote the appropriate passage in each case. The entire series is omitted in Stauronikita 50.

*Fol. 41<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 83).* Four monks stand motionless within a dark cave, their hands folded before them. In the sentence immediately following, the author says: "I beheld certain of those convicted ones, who were yet innocent, standing in the cold all night long until dawn, and never moving their feet."<sup>81</sup>

*Fol. 42<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 84.)* In the upper scene six penitents stand with uplifted arms, in illustration of the following: "I saw others piteously gazing heavenward, and calling for aid from thence with wailing and crying."<sup>82</sup>

The lower miniature on this page is a literal illustration of the passage reading: "Others I beheld persevering in prayer, with their hands tied behind them after the manner of criminals, and inclining their faces in darkness towards the ground, judging themselves to be unworthy of looking up to heaven."<sup>83</sup>

*Fol. 42<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 85).* The first scene: "I saw others sitting upon the ground in sackcloth and ashes, covering their faces with their knees, and smiting their foreheads on the ground."<sup>84</sup>

<sup>81</sup> *ibid.*, col. 765A.

<sup>82</sup> *loc.cit.*

<sup>83</sup> *ibid.*, col. 765A-B.

<sup>84</sup> *ibid.*, col. 765B.

The second scene: "I observed others continually beating their breasts, and so saving their life and soul."<sup>85</sup>

The third scene: "Some among them watered the ground with their tears, but others, deprived of tears, smote themselves."<sup>86</sup> The penitents grimace and clutch their faces in grief.

*Fol. 43<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 86).* The first scene: "I beheld there certain ones who by their manner seemed as if distraught, and others, speechless in meditation, who had become wholly stupefied by much anguish, and were as if insensible to all the things of life."<sup>87</sup>

The second scene: "I saw others sitting speechless and bending forward<sup>88</sup> to the ground, continually moving their heads, and roaring and groaning with outpourings from the heart, quite after the manner of lions."<sup>89</sup> Two of the figures lift their heads as they utter these animal sounds.

*Fol. 43<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 87).* The first scene: "Some there were among them who hopefully begged and prayed for complete forgiveness; but others, out of their ineffable humility, judged themselves to be unworthy of forgiveness. . . . Others, crushed by the weight of their conscience, sincerely asked neither to be punished nor to be accounted worthy of the kingdom of heaven."<sup>90</sup> The two monks bending down are perhaps meant to represent those "crushed by the weight of their conscience."

The second scene: "I beheld there humble and contrite souls, bowed down by the weight of their burden, who were able to stir the very stones to contrition by the cries and utterances which they called out to God. For they spake bending down to earth."<sup>91</sup>

*Fol. 44<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 88).* "The words of David were plainly to be observed there: they were seen to be wretched and bowed down until the end of their life, and going with a mourning countenance all the day."<sup>92</sup> The text is a paraphrase of Psalm 37: 7. David therefore stands on one side, pointing to the enactment of his words by the penitents. The psalmist's richly colored garb of red and blue forms a striking intrusion in this series of miniatures, where brownish hues predominate.

*Fol. 44<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 89).* "Some, having tasted a little water, left off, taking only enough that they might not perish of thirst. And some, partaking of a little bread, cast it away, saying that since they conducted themselves like beasts they were unworthy of human nourishment."<sup>93</sup> These two acts of self-denial

<sup>85</sup> *loc.cit.*      <sup>86</sup> *loc.cit.*      <sup>87</sup> *ibid.*, col. 765C.

<sup>88</sup> The red signs over the figures on either side connect them with the word *νενευκώτας* (bending forward) in the text, and with the marginal scholium, both of which are similarly marked.

<sup>89</sup> Migne, *loc.cit.*      <sup>90</sup> *ibid.*, cols. 765D-768A.

<sup>91</sup> *ibid.*, col. 768A.      <sup>92</sup> *ibid.*, col. 768B.      <sup>93</sup> *ibid.*, col. 768C.

are carried out by the monks, those at the left reluctantly sipping from cups, and those on the right throwing away their bread.

*Fol. 45<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 90).* The first scene: "Some smote their breasts vehemently, as if they stood at the gate of heaven, saying unto God: Open unto us, O judge, open unto us."<sup>94</sup> The penitents lift their heads in entreaty, and one is seen to be striking himself with clenched fists.

The second scene: "Certain ones said: Only make thy face to shine, and we shall be saved. And yet another said: Make thy face to shine upon the humble ones that sit in darkness and the shadow of death."<sup>95</sup> The picture shows a group of monks gesticulating in animated fashion.

*Fol. 46<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 91).* This miniature illustrates a passage describing the most repulsive bodily mortifications. "Amongst these men," the author relates, "were to be seen some with knees hardened by excessive penitence, and eyes wasted away and sunk deep within their sockets. They were bereft of hair, and their cheeks were furrowed and scalded by the burning heat of their tears. Their faces were withered and pale, in no wise differing in appearance from the dead. Their breasts were bruised by blows, and blood was spewed forth from the beatings against their chests. Where in this place could they find rest upon a bed? Where could they find clean and decent raiment? For their own was torn and dirty, and covered with vermin. . . . I beg of you, my brethren, not to consider what I have told to be a fable."<sup>96</sup> Six skeletal penitents, their faces shriveled to look like skulls, sit or crouch within a cavern.

*Fol. 46<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 92).* "Often they entreated that great judge, the abbot I mean, that angel among men, seeking to have irons and collars put about their hands and shoulders, and to have their feet fastened in wooden stocks like those suffering punishment."<sup>97</sup> Remarkably enough, the miniature merely shows six haggard penitents standing in prayer, and not wearing irons or other encumbrances.

*Fol. 47<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 93).* The first scene: here the author describes the mortuary customs practiced by the "holy criminals." When one of them was about to die, he writes, "he would solemnly ask the abbot, through his deputy, that he be not honored with human burial, but with that of an animal, or that he be committed to the flowing river, or to the beasts in the fields."<sup>98</sup> The lean and wasted monks stand in attitudes of mourning around the dying man. From the rocks at the left the face of an aged brother peers down at the scene. At the right the corpse is borne away by two monks to be disposed of according to the wishes of the deceased.

The second scene: "Such was the terrible and pitiful spectacle of their last

<sup>94</sup> *ibid.*, col. 769A.

<sup>95</sup> *loc.cit.*

<sup>96</sup> *ibid.*, cols. 769D-772B.

<sup>97</sup> *ibid.*, col. 772B.

<sup>98</sup> *ibid.*, col. 772B-C.



hour. For when these men, who were condemned together, perceived that the dying one was approaching the end, they clustered eagerly about him while his mind still remained active, sorrowing in the most piteous manner and shaking their heads with words of despair. . . . Consumed with sympathy for him, they asked: How is it with thee, brother and fellow-criminal? What sayest thou? . . . Hast thou accomplished what was desired by thy labor? Or hast thou not availed? Hast thou opened the gates, or art thou still held to account?"<sup>99</sup> The monks are seen hovering around the dying man, eagerly questioning him and gesticulating amongst themselves.

*Fol. 48<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 94).* John Climacus concludes his description of the prison as follows: "Some prayed to be tempted by demons, while others besought the Lord that they might fall into the holy sickness. Some asked to be deprived of sight. . . . Others asked to become paralytics, if only they might not suffer agonies after death."<sup>100</sup> The illustration shows four monks within a cave, two standing in attitudes of prayer, another with head bowed and arms held to his chest, and the fourth lying listlessly at the side.

*Fol. 49<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 95).* John Climacus, ὁ ἄ(γίος) ἰω(άννης) ὁ τ(ῆ)ς κλίμακο(ς), with two other monks, is here represented on his return from the place of the penitents to the monastery proper. The abbot sits at the right before a building, the inscription beside him reading: ὁ ὁσιος π(ατ)ῆρ ἡμ(ῶν) ἰσαάκ (our holy father Isaac).<sup>101</sup> The text passage directly below begins: "When therefore I had passed thirty days in the prison, I returned unexpectedly to the great abbot in the great monastery."<sup>102</sup>

*Fol. 49<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 96).* The last miniature of the series represents two groups of praying monks. It appears to have little connection with the text passage below, which describes how carnal desires can be transformed into a love for God.<sup>103</sup> The scene is reminiscent of similar groups of praying monks in the monastic psalters.

The scenes of the penitents follow the text closely except for one detail: in all of them the monks are represented in caves, which are in fact not mentioned by the author. This can only mean that the artist has adhered to a pictorial tradition according to which ascetics are shown as cave-dwellers. In this respect the miniatures are comparable to those representing cave-hermits in the Princeton Climax. Especially admirable in these little scenes are the delicacy of execution and variety of coloring, the rocky settings ranging in hue from a warm orange to cool greens and violets.

<sup>99</sup> *ibid.*, col. 772C-D.      <sup>100</sup> *ibid.*, col. 776A.

<sup>101</sup> The name of the abbot is not supplied by the text; but in the fourth chapter we are told that a deputy, appointed to rule over the prison, bore the name Isaac (*ibid.*, col. 704B). The miniaturist has evidently taken this to be the name of the abbot himself.

<sup>102</sup> *ibid.*, col. 776B.      <sup>103</sup> *ibid.*, col. 777A.

CHAP. V, CONCLUSION: FOL. 51<sup>v</sup>

The end of the fifth homily is marked by a narrow picture of the climbing monk in profile, standing on the fifth rung of a red ladder, and raising his arms to heaven (Fig. 97). The slender elegance of the figure has been lost in the Stauronikita copy (Fig. 142), which is set at the head of chapter VI. The number of rungs, however, is unchanged.

CHAP. VI, CONCLUSION: FOL. 54<sup>v</sup>

There is no title picture to the sixth chapter in Vat. gr. 394. An empty space was left on fol. 52<sup>r</sup> for a miniature of two-column width, but this was never executed. In the illustration at the close of this homily (Fig. 98, left) the monk, ὁ (μον)αχ(ός), has now elevated himself to the sixth rung, where he stands facing to the right, with arms lifted in supplication. The Stauronikita miniature (Fig. 143) is almost a replica of this scene, with the addition of a segment of heaven in the upper right corner. Here the picture serves as a title to the seventh homily; the number of rungs has been unaccountably altered to eight, the monk standing on the seventh.

CHAP. VII, TITLE: FOL. 54<sup>v</sup>

At first glance, the title picture (Fig. 98, right) appears to bear little relation to the subject of the chapter, which is "sorrow." John Climacus, seated at the right before a narrow building, with his feet resting on a footstool, speaks to two monks, one of whom points to a table. In the margin behind the author stands Silence, ἡ σιωπή, with her finger held to her mouth. The inscription along the top reads: ἐπελάθετό τις φαγεῖν τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ (he hath forgotten to eat his bread)—a paraphrase of Psalm 101: 5. As is frequently true, however, the explanation is to be found in the opening portion of the chapter, where the author defines the various qualities that contribute to sorrow. "Confession," he says, "is a forgetfulness of nature, as when one hath forgotten to eat his bread. . . . Moderation and silence of the lips are proper to those who are still advancing in blessed sorrow."<sup>104</sup> The monks in the picture seem to point to the empty table as evidence of their moderation in the matter of food, and Silence touches her lips.

CHAP. VII, CONCLUSION: FOL. 62<sup>r</sup>

In the Vatican manuscript, the scene which marks the end of the homily (Fig. 99, left) is quite separate from the adjoining one, a distinction which in most instances is obscured. The background has been left blank, the ladder and the border being in gold. The Stauronikita miniature (Fig. 144) is identical, even to the seven rungs on which the monk stands, but has the usual gold background, and is of course used to introduce chapter VIII.

<sup>104</sup> *ibid.*, cols. 801D-804A.

For his title illustration of the eighth chapter ("placidity and meekness"), the Vatican miniaturist reverts to the customary teaching scene (Fig. 99, right). The author,  $\delta \alpha(\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma) \iota\omega(\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma)$ , occupies a central position on a throne beneath a baldachin with a pointed dome. He points to Placidity and Meekness,  $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\rho\gamma\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha \kappa(\alpha\iota) \pi\rho\alpha\upsilon\tau(\eta)\varsigma$ , standing at his side,<sup>105</sup> while two monks,  $\omicron\iota (\mu\omicron\nu)\alpha\chi(\omicron\iota)$ , listen intently to his words. The colors are particularly brilliant: the architecture, on which crimson draperies are hung, is light blue, rose, and brown. The personifications, standing on a blue and white marbled panel, are dressed in rose, blue, and red. St. John's throne is a deep brown with greenish highlights, and is fitted with a blue backcloth.

The illustration in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 100, left) shows the monk on the ladder flanked by two female personifications. The dark-skinned figure of Malice,  $\eta \mu\eta\eta\sigma\iota\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , seizes his foot as he attempts to take another step, and the monk exclaims:  $\omicron\upsilon\alpha\acute{\iota} \mu(\omicron\iota) \upsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta(\eta\nu) \delta \tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ , which may be freely construed, "Woe unto me! I have been wretchedly overthrown." But Humility,  $\eta \tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\phi\rho\omicron(\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta)$ , is present to hearten him. A faint inscription on the gold ground gives her words of encouragement:  $\mu\grave{\eta} \phi\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\upsilon \delta\upsilon\tau(\omicron\varsigma) \mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha} \sigma\omicron\upsilon (?) \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu \kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu \delta\iota\omega\kappa(\omega)$  (fear not, but fight on, for I am with thee and drive away every evil). The ladder has nine rungs, possibly through an oversight by the miniaturist, who is not always scrupulously accurate in this matter. The scene is reproduced in much the same form in Stauronikita 50 (Fig. 145), but without inscriptions, and as a title miniature to the ninth homily.

The textual motivation for the picture is found, appropriately, near the close of the eighth chapter, where the author quotes an imaginary speech by Anger: "My daughters are Malice, Hatred, Enmity, and Dispute. And my enemies . . . are Placidity and Meekness. But she who plotteth treachery against me is called Humility."<sup>106</sup> On one side, therefore, Malice, the daughter of Anger, seeks to trip the monk, while on the other, Humility, the untiring foe of Anger, offers him encouragement.

The ninth step ("on malice") begins with the familiar scene of instruction (Fig. 100, right). The author,  $\delta \alpha(\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma) \iota\omega(\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma)$ , is enthroned beneath a domed canopy flanked by two buildings on stepped bases. Two monks watch at the left as St. John points to the personification of malice,  $\eta \mu\eta\eta\sigma\iota\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ,

<sup>105</sup> As on fol. 43<sup>r</sup>, signs are used to connect the figures with the marginal inscriptions.

<sup>106</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 836A.

on the right. The inscription above reads: προσέχ(ε)τ(ε) π(ατέ)ρες τήν μνησικακίαν (regard Malice, O fathers).

CHAP. IX, CONCLUSION: FOL. 67<sup>v</sup>

The miniature (Fig. 101, left) resembles its predecessor in that Malice endeavors to cause the monk to stumble. The ladder is inconsistently provided with ten rungs (unless it is intended that the figure be shown stepping from the ninth to the tenth). The inscription beside the personification reads: ἡ μνησικακία ἡ μ(ήτ)ηρ τ(ῆ)ς καταλαλι(ᾶς) (Malice, the mother of Slander). The genealogical relationship hinted at here is further developed in the succeeding chapter.<sup>107</sup> The monk's sorrowful utterance is written along the top: οὐαί μοι τ(ῷ) ταπειν(ῷ) χ(ριστ)ῷ βοήθ(ει) (woe is me; give aid, O Christ, unto the humble one).

The Stauronikita copy of this scene (Fig. 146) introduces a few alterations: the position of the monk's legs is reversed, and the arc of heaven is inserted in the upper right corner. The rungs are ten in number, which accords nicely with the artist's conception of the scene as a title picture to the tenth chapter. The miniature is unique in including the inscription along the top.

CHAP. X, TITLE: FOL. 67<sup>v</sup>

In the teaching scene which introduces the tenth chapter (Fig. 101, right), the author is enthroned under a centrally placed canopy, and expounds his work to four listening brethren. Between the two at the right stands Slander, ἡ καταλαλιά, the subject of his discourse.

CHAP. X, CONCLUSION: FOL. 69<sup>v</sup>

This picture contains an unusual conceit (Fig. 102, left). The monk, having achieved the tenth rung, stands on the prostrate form of Slander, ἡ καταλαλιά, who lies across the top of the ladder. Her flesh is blue-gray in color. This curious attitude was no doubt inspired by the admonition at the close of the tenth chapter: "The tenth rung. He that hath overcome this [Slander] hath become a worker of love and sorrow."<sup>108</sup> The scene is closely copied in Stauronikita 50 (Fig. 147).

CHAP. XI, TITLE: FOL. 69<sup>v</sup>

The eleventh homily, "on talkativeness and silence," opens with a teaching scene (Fig. 102, right). At the right are two dark-skinned vices, inscribed πολυλογ(ία) κ(αὶ) καταλαλ(ία), Talkativeness and Slander. Both qualities are mentioned by the author near the opening of the chapter: "Talkativeness is a sign of Ignorance, and a doorway for Slander."<sup>109</sup>

<sup>107</sup> *ibid.*, col. 845B-C.

<sup>108</sup> *ibid.*, col. 849A.

<sup>109</sup> *ibid.*, col. 852B.

CHAP. XI, CONCLUSION: FOL. 71<sup>r</sup>

The end of the chapter is marked by the very gracefully drawn figure of a monk who is actually progressing onto the twelfth step between two groups of female personifications (Fig. 103, left). The inscription above names him as "the monk Peter," ὁ (μον)αχ(ὸς) πέτρος. The inner pair of personifications, whose blue-gray skin identifies them as vices seeking to impede him, are Malice and Slander, μνησικακ(ία) and καταλαλιά; the two outer figures are the opposed virtues of Charity and Silence, ἀγάπ(η) and σιωπή, who stand by to assist the monk. All these qualities are spoken of by the author in the eleventh homily, with the exception of Charity, who has plainly been introduced as the opposite of Malice. The Stauronikita version of the scene is very similar, with the addition of the arc of heaven (Fig. 148).

CHAP. XII, TITLE: FOL. 71<sup>r</sup>

The twelfth sermon, "on falsehood," is introduced in Vat. gr. 394 by a scene of instruction (Fig. 103, right). The author, ὁ ἄ(γιος) ἰω(άννης), addresses two monks, the younger of whom is named Luke, ὁ (μον)αχ(ὸς) λουκ(ᾶς), and points to the figure of David on the right, ὁ προφ(ήτης) δα(νί)δ. The psalmist, wearing a golden crown, a crimson tunic with a gold hem, and a blue chlamys adorned by a golden tablion, holds an open scroll and raises his right arm. His presence is explained by the following passage in the text: "Thou wilt destroy all that speak falsehood, as David said unto the Lord."<sup>110</sup>

CHAP. XII, CONCLUSION: FOL. 72<sup>r</sup>

The illustration at the end of the chapter (Fig. 104, left) represents the monk stepping from the twelfth to the thirteenth rung, while a dark-skinned female personification tugs vigorously at his foot. The inscription above her head is totally illegible, but the figure can be no other than Falsehood (ψεῦδος).

Surprisingly enough, the counterpart of this illustration in Stauronikita 50 is very different (Fig. 149). The monk on the ladder is identical in both miniatures, but a reclining personification has been substituted for the crouching figure of Falsehood. The explanation of this discrepancy appears in the next miniature of Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 105, left), where the same female figure lies at the foot of the ladder. This is of course Sloth, the subject of chapter XIII. The Stauronikita copyist, realizing that the ladder pictures were not meant as title illustrations, has attempted to rectify the matter by combining elements from two scenes.

<sup>110</sup> *ibid.*, col. 856A. The reference is to Psalm 5: 7.

CHAP. XIII, TITLE: FOL. 72<sup>r</sup>

In the teaching scene that precedes this homily (Fig. 104, right), Sloth, the subject under discussion, lies at the feet of John Climacus, ὁ ἄ(γιος) ἰω(άννης), as he preaches to four monks. The personified vice, ἡ ἀκηδ(ία), is dark-skinned, and her posture closely resembles that of Slander on fol. 69<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 102).

CHAP. XIII, CONCLUSION: FOL. 74<sup>r</sup>

The monk stands with one foot on the thirteenth rung of the ladder, and Sloth, ἡ ἀκηδ(ία), reclines lazily at its base (Fig. 105, left). Her skin, unlike that of the vices in preceding scenes, is of a normal flesh color. As pointed out above, this figure was copied in the illustration on fol. 101<sup>v</sup> of Stauronikita 50 (Fig. 149). The corresponding picture in that manuscript (Fig. 150) once again presents an alteration from the model: the striding form of the monk is the same, but another personification has been substituted for that of Sloth. As in the preceding scene, this change has been made in order to adapt the picture to the content of the following chapter.

CHAP. XIV, TITLE: FOL. 74<sup>r</sup>

In the almost unvarying scene of instruction (Fig. 105) John Climacus, ὁ ἄ(γιος) ἰω(άννης), is seated before three monks. Gluttony, ἡ γαστριμαργ(ία), wearing a golden crown and a blue garment hemmed with gold, stands on the right eating an apple. The crown is explained by the fact that the author describes this vice as δέσποινα,<sup>111</sup> which might best be rendered as "a ruling passion." It will be observed that this is the figure copied by the Stauronikita illustrator for his adapted title picture to chapter XIV (Fig. 150).

FOL. 78<sup>r</sup>

The fourteenth homily ends with a description of the relationship between gluttony and lust, in which, as has already been pointed out, the author observes that Adam and Eve would not have sinned if they had resisted their appetite for the forbidden fruit. In Vat. gr. 394, this passage is appropriately illustrated by the Temptation and the Expulsion from the Garden (Fig. 106). Eve is seen at the left, her arms folded across her breast, listening to the words of the serpent coiled about a tree. Adam lies on the ground behind her. Further to the right Adam and Eve stand on either side of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Lastly, an angel drives the first parents out of the garden, the expulsion being very effectively expressed by the protrusion of the figures into the margin. On the brilliant red door

<sup>111</sup> *ibid.*, col. 864C (title of chap. XIV).



of Paradise is seen the Cherubin. The scene is framed by a gold border, the background being blue-green in color.

The several episodes here represented are of course taken from a cycle of the Book of Genesis. But they do not agree precisely in iconographical detail with the scenes in those manuscripts containing the fullest cycles: Vat. gr. 746, Vat. gr. 747, and the Octateuchs of Smyrna and the Seraglio.<sup>112</sup> A much closer parallel is to be found in the Genesis illustrations of the Octateuch in Florence (Bibl. Laurenz., Plut. v, 38), which go up only through the Expulsion. The episodes in question appear on fol. 6<sup>r</sup> of that manuscript.<sup>113</sup> The second register commences with the Creation of Eve; the reclining form of Adam, from whose side the woman emerges, is clearly identical to that in the Climax miniature (the figure of Eve having been omitted). Next is the Temptation of Eve, in which the serpent is a coiled snake, again as in Vat. gr. 394, whereas in the other Octateuchs the tempter is a camel-like quadruped. The third scene in the Florence miniature shows the first parents on either side of the tree, but not yet eating the fruit; this episode, which is paralleled in the Climax illustration, is not represented in the major Octateuch cycles. The central scene in the lowest register depicts the Expulsion, with the angel standing before the door of Paradise and driving out Adam and Eve. Here too there is a point of resemblance to the Climax picture in that the man and woman wear only fig leaves, and not the skins of animals in which they are clothed in the other Octateuchs.

CHAP. XIV, CONCLUSION: FOL. 78<sup>v</sup>

In the illustration at the end of the chapter (Fig. 107, left), the monk stands on a ladder which has only seven rungs, and prays to the arc of heaven. His feet are guided by Tranquillity, ἡ ἀπάθεια, and Temperance, ἡ σωφροσύνη. The scene refers to the final words of the homily: "He that hath prevailed hasteneth surely unto supreme tranquillity and temperance."<sup>114</sup> In the copy of this scene in Stauronikita 50 (Fig. 151) the ladder has fifteen rungs, as befits a picture used to introduce the succeeding chapter.

CHAP. XV, TITLE: FOL. 78<sup>v</sup>

No personifications are shown in the illustration of "chastity and temperance" (Fig. 107, right). Instead, John Climacus addresses two monks and points to a third standing at the right, beside whom an inscription reads:

<sup>112</sup> Hesselting, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque grec de Smyrne*, pls. 6-8, nos. 18-23. Ouspensky, *L'Octateuque du Sérail*, Album, pl. xi, nos. 24-26.

<sup>113</sup> G. Millet, *La collection chrétienne et byzantine des Hautes Études*, Paris, 1903, p. 38, nos. C368-369.

<sup>114</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 872B.

ὁ (μον)αχ(ὸς) νικόλα(ος) ὁ ἐν τ(ῷ) λουφαδ(ίῳ) (the monk Nicholas of the Louphadion).<sup>115</sup> A longer inscription along the top refers to the same personage: ὁ ἄ(γιος) ἰω(άννης) λ(έ)γ(ει) οὕτο(ς) ἐστὶν ὁ (μον)αχ(ὸς) νικόλ(αος) σῶφρ(ων). ὁ τελείαν ἀναισθησίαν ἐπὶ διαφορᾷ σωμ(ά)τ(ων) διὰ παντὸ(ς) κτησάμ(ε)ν(ος) (St. John saith, This is the temperate monk Nicholas, who always possesseth perfect indifference to distinctions in bodies). The sentence is taken directly from the text of the chapter, where however it is used as a general definition, without reference to any individual: "He is temperate that always possesseth etc."<sup>116</sup>

CHAP. XV, CONCLUSION: FOL. 89<sup>v</sup>

The monk is poised on the fifteenth rung of a gold ladder, his arms held aloft to the arc of heaven (Fig. 108, left). Above, a flying angel holding a staff offers him guidance. On the ground below, a second monk points to a dark-skinned female figure lying at the foot of the ladder with her hands tied behind her back. Unlike other scenes in this series, the miniature has an architectural background. Stauronikita 50 contains a very similar illustration, but without the second monk and the architectural setting (Fig. 152).

The identification of the prostrate figure beneath the ladder presents a problem, since there is no inscription in either manuscript. Katzenellenbogen<sup>117</sup> proposes "avarice," which is the subject of the sixteenth homily; but the solution must rather be sought in chapter xv, because it is to this that the picture refers. And indeed the conclusion of that chapter does provide the explanation. Here Nature (φύσις) speaks to the soul: "If thou knowest the sure and profound weakness which is in both thee and me, thou hast bound my hands."<sup>118</sup> The figure, then, is doubtless a personification of Nature. The angel, moreover, would seem to be explained by another portion of the text, already quoted, where the author remarks that "he that hath overcome Nature . . . is but a little lower . . . than the angels."<sup>119</sup>

CHAP. XVI, TITLE: FOL. 89<sup>v</sup>

The adjoining title illustration in Vat. gr. 394 is likewise without identifying inscriptions (Fig. 108, right). St. John addresses two monks, and points to a female figure, clad in brown tunic and mantle, pushing two others before her. The latter, whose blue-gray skin marks them as vices, emerge from the picture into the margin, as do Adam and Eve in the scene of the Ex-

<sup>115</sup> Cf. the mention of this same monastery in the inscription of the miniature on fol. 17<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>116</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 880D.

<sup>117</sup> A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art*, London, 1939, p. 23, note 2.

<sup>118</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 904B. <sup>119</sup> *ibid.*, col. 896C. Cf. Hebrews 2: 7-9.

pulsion (Fig. 106). The author describes avarice, which is the subject of this chapter, as the "daughter of unbelief," and contrasts these two vices to charity.<sup>120</sup> It is probable that the personifications are to be understood as Avarice and Unbelief being expelled by Charity.

CHAP. XVI, CONCLUSION: FOL. 90<sup>v</sup>

The monk has now ascended to the sixteenth rung (Fig. 109, left), and extends his arms toward the arc of heaven, in which Christ is seen making the sign of benediction over him. Two inscriptions, both applying to the Lord, read: *ι(ησοῦ)ς χ(ριστό)ς*, and *ἡ ἀγάπ(η)* (charity). The scene doubtless alludes to the closing words of the homily: "The sixteenth contest. He that hath won this hath either acquired charity or hath cast aside care."<sup>121</sup> The Stauronikita miniature (Fig. 153) is essentially the same, but is provided with a gold background.

CHAP. XVII, TITLE: FOL. 90<sup>v</sup>

The miniature preceding the chapter "on poverty" (Fig. 109, right) represents John Climacus pointing out to two monks the nude form of Job, *ὁ ἰώβ*. The latter is seated on a dunghill and receives a wreath from an angel flying toward him. The scene was obviously inspired by the author's observation that "there was no trace of avarice in Job."<sup>122</sup>

CHAP. XVII, CONCLUSION: FOL. 92<sup>r</sup>

With his back to the beholder and his face turned to the sky, the monk stands on the seventeenth rung and raises his arms (Fig. 110, left). This difficult posture has been less successfully rendered in the corresponding miniature of Stauronikita 50 (Fig. 154), and a gold background has been added.

CHAP. XVIII, TITLE: FOL. 92<sup>r</sup>

As an introduction to his sermon "on insensibility," John Climacus, *ὁ ἄ(γιος) ἰω(άννης)*, is again represented instructing the monks (Fig. 110, right). Fastened to the mantle of one of his listeners is a double cord which is grasped by a diminutive nude figure labelled *ἡ ἀνασθησία* (Insensibility). The explanation of this curious detail is perhaps to be found in the author's definition of insensibility as "a snare of manliness" (*ἀνδρείας βρόχος*).<sup>123</sup>

CHAP. XVIII, CONCLUSION: FOL. 94<sup>r</sup>

This is the most complex of the entire series of ladder-pictures (Fig. 111, left). The vices have won a temporary victory, and have dragged the climb-

<sup>120</sup> *ibid.*, col. 924D.

<sup>121</sup> *ibid.*, col. 925A.

<sup>122</sup> *ibid.*, col. 929A.

<sup>123</sup> *ibid.*, col. 932B.

long from the ladder, the downfall of this unfortunate be-  
 conveyed by the long, sweeping lines of his garments. Pride,  
 phadion).<sup>115</sup> A l grasps his left foot; his arms are seized by Sleep, *ὁ ὕπνο(ς)*,  
*ὁ ἄ(γ)ιος* *ἰω(άν)* ety, *ψευδευλάβ(ε)ια*; Anger, *ὁ θυμός*, clutches his hair. Vainglory,  
*ὁ τελείαν ἀναισθη* shes up to assist her companions, while another figure, unnamed,  
 saith, This is arms about the falling monk. At the lower right Evil Habit drives  
 indifference, the virtues, as appears from the inscription: *ἡ συνήθ(ε)ια ἡ πονηρὰ*  
 the text of *(ὰς) καλ(ὰς) ἀρετ(ὰς)*; these are perhaps to be interpreted as Faith,  
 out refere and Charity. The nude form of Satiety, *ὁ κόρος*, sits eating before the  
 etc."<sup>116</sup> ignorance," *λάκκο(ς) ἀγνωσίας*, in which lurks a second naked figure,

CHAP. XV mably Ignorance himself. Above the pit stands a " robed in im-  
 The l garments and wearing a pearl-studded

aloft ription terms her *ἡ γαστριμαργ(ία) ἡ ὀ* ther startling  
 staff e vices are distinguished by th e stinkpot).<sup>125</sup>  
 dark lored garments. all wear gaily  
 tied The counterpart to t ing and  
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 tic the in- He  
 subject of this  
 two vices to  
 derstood as

False Piety. . . . Satiety nourisheth me, Time increaseth me, Evil Habit  
 strengtheneth me; he that holdeth fast to this shall not be delivered from  
 me."<sup>127</sup> The queenly figure of Gluttony is thus accompanied by the vices  
 who are named as her associates in the text. Vainglory is mentioned elsewhere  
 in the same homily;<sup>128</sup> Pride alone seems to lack direct textual motivation.  
 A further word is required concerning Gluttony. That she appears as an  
 empress is explained of course by the term *δέσποινα*. In chapter XIV, where  
 the same word is applied to her, she is likewise pictured wearing a crown

<sup>124</sup> The costume is that of the Byzantine *basilissa*. Cf. the garment worn by the Empress Maria in  
 a miniature of Coislin 79 (H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque  
 Nationale du VIe au XIVe siècle*, Paris, 1929, pl. LXII).

<sup>125</sup> The word *ὀζοθήκη* is deciphered as *ὀρθοδοξία* (orthodoxy) by Morey (*East Christian Paintings*,  
 p. 5), who sees the figure as an ecclesiastic. Katzenellenbogen reads it as *ὀξυθυμία* (irascibility) (*Al-  
 legories of the Virtues and Vices*, p. 23, note 1).

<sup>126</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 933A-B.

<sup>127</sup> *ibid.*, col. 933C-D.

<sup>128</sup> *ibid.*, col. 932C.

(Fig. 105). In the miniature under consideration there is shown before her an opening in the ground, labeled "the pit of ignorance," probably with reference to the epithet *ὁζοθήκη*. Oddly enough, the phrase is used by the author, but in quite another connection: in chapter XXIX he says of himself that he speaks from the "deepest pit of ignorance."<sup>129</sup>

Nearly all the personifications, as we have seen, are enumerated by the author. But their arrangement within the composition reveals considerable artistic freedom and inventiveness, and is not dependent on details in the text. The theme of the monk being dragged down bodily by the vices may have been suggested by the full-page scene of the heavenly ladder, in which demons frequently play a similar role as agents of destruction.

CHAP. XIX, TITLE: FOL. 94<sup>r</sup>

"Sleep, prayer, and psalm-singing" are the subjects of the homily, the title miniature of which merely shows four monks listening to John Climacus (Fig. 111, right). In the margin is a vignette representing Prayer, *ἡ προσευχή*, beating reclining Sleep, *ὁ ὕπνος*, with a club, the latter having the usual dark flesh-color of personified vices. This is a spirited interpretation of the author's advice that monks should pray in order to overcome drowsiness.

CHAP. XIX, CONCLUSION: FOL. 95<sup>r</sup>

The climbing monk has now regained his position on the ladder, while Prayer, *ἡ προσευχή*, stands below to offer him encouragement (Fig. 112, left). The arc of heaven appears at the upper left. In Stauronikita 50 (Fig. 156) the personification stands on the opposite side.

CHAP. XX, TITLE: FOL. 95<sup>r</sup>

The miniature, which has suffered from flaking, pictures the author, *ὁ ἄγιος ἰω(άννης)*, enthroned amid three monks (Fig. 112, right).

FOL. 95<sup>v</sup>

In the twentieth homily John Climacus sets forth various ways in which vigilance may be practiced.<sup>130</sup> These are illustrated in the Vatican manuscript by four miniatures, above each of which appears the relevant text passage.

In the first, which is within the left text column (Fig. 113, above), two monks are seen walking between two hills and holding up their arms. The text reads: "Some pass the night as if incorporeal, and, divested of all care, extend their hands in prayer."

<sup>129</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1148B.

<sup>130</sup> *ibid.*, col. 940C.

ing monk headlong from the ladder, the downfall of this unfortunate being effectively conveyed by the long, sweeping lines of his garments. Pride, ἡ ὑπερηφάνεια, grasps his left foot; his arms are seized by Sleep, ὁ ὕπνος, and False Piety, ψευδευλάβεια; Anger, ὁ θυμός, clutches his hair. Vainglory, κενοδοξία, rushes up to assist her companions, while another figure, unnamed, clasps her arms about the falling monk. At the lower right Evil Habit drives away three virtues, as appears from the inscription: ἡ συνήθεια ἡ πονηρὰ διώκει τὰς καλὰς ἀρετάς; these are perhaps to be interpreted as Faith, Hope, and Charity. The nude form of Satiety, ὁ κόρος, sits eating before the "pit of ignorance," λάκκος ἀγνοσίας, in which lurks a second naked figure, presumably Ignorance himself. Above the pit stands a woman robed in imperial garments and wearing a pearl-studded crown;<sup>124</sup> a rather startling inscription terms her ἡ γαστριμαργία ἡ ὀζοθήκη (Gluttony, the stinkpot).<sup>125</sup> The vices are distinguished by their gray skin, and almost all wear gaily colored garments.

The counterpart to this miniature in Stauronikita 50 is unfortunately badly flaked (Fig. 155). The copyist has added a gold background, but has omitted the inscriptions and the figure within the pit.

The entire composition stems from a portion of the text in which the author observes that indifference can lead to gluttony. The passage reads in part: "I have seen many such persons who had heard about and wept over death and the awful judgments, and who with the tears still in their eyes went studiously to the table. And I marvelled how this tyrant, this stinkpot [δέσποινα καὶ ὀζοθήκη], strengthened by much indifference, was able to overcome even grief."<sup>126</sup> Then follow the words of Gluttony herself: "I am the mother of Laughter, the nurse of Sleep, the friend of Satiety; I cling to False Piety. . . . Satiety nourisheth me, Time increaseth me, Evil Habit strengtheneth me; he that holdeth fast to this shall not be delivered from me."<sup>127</sup> The queenly figure of Gluttony is thus accompanied by the vices who are named as her associates in the text. Vainglory is mentioned elsewhere in the same homily;<sup>128</sup> Pride alone seems to lack direct textual motivation. A further word is required concerning Gluttony. That she appears as an empress is explained of course by the term δέσποινα. In chapter XIV, where the same word is applied to her, she is likewise pictured wearing a crown

<sup>124</sup> The costume is that of the Byzantine *basilissa*. Cf. the garment worn by the Empress Maria in a miniature of Coislin 79 (H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1929, pl. LXII).

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<sup>127</sup> *ibid.*, col. 933C-D.

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Nearly all the personifications, as we have seen, are enumerated by the author. But their arrangement within the composition reveals considerable artistic freedom and inventiveness, and is not dependent on details in the text. The theme of the monk being dragged down bodily by the vices may have been suggested by the full-page scene of the heavenly ladder, in which demons frequently play a similar role as agents of destruction.

CHAP. XIX, TITLE: FOL. 94<sup>r</sup>

"Sleep, prayer, and psalm-singing" are the subjects of the homily, the title miniature of which merely shows four monks listening to John Climacus (Fig. 111, right). In the margin is a vignette representing Prayer, *ἡ προσευχή*, beating reclining Sleep, *ὁ ὕπνος*, with a club, the latter having the usual dark flesh-color of personified vices. This is a spirited interpretation of the author's advice that monks should pray in order to overcome drowsiness.

CHAP. XIX, CONCLUSION: FOL. 95<sup>r</sup>

The climbing monk has now regained his position on the ladder, while Prayer, *ἡ προσευχή*, stands below to offer him encouragement (Fig. 112, left). The arc of heaven appears at the upper left. In Stauronikita 50 (Fig. 156) the personification stands on the opposite side.

CHAP. XX, TITLE: FOL. 95<sup>r</sup>

The miniature, which has suffered from flaking, pictures the author, *ὁ ἄγιος ἰω(άννης)*, enthroned amid three monks (Fig. 112, right).

FOL. 95<sup>v</sup>

In the twentieth homily John Climacus sets forth various ways in which vigilance may be practiced.<sup>130</sup> These are illustrated in the Vatican manuscript by four miniatures, above each of which appears the relevant text passage.

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<sup>129</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1148B.

<sup>130</sup> *ibid.*, col. 940C.

The second picture, immediately below, shows a monk standing in orant posture and another facing him. The lines above may be translated: "Others carry out these devotions by singing psalms."

The third miniature (Fig. 114, above) represents a monk standing before a high lectern on which rests an open book; three others sit on a bench behind him. The text reads: "Others persevere instead by reading scripture."

The fourth scene (Fig. 114, below) shows two hermits, each seated within a little cave. The figure at the left is carving wooden spoons, and the other holds a finished spoon in his hand. This is an illustration of the passage reading: "There are some who out of weakness manfully contend against sleep by working with their hands." The last scene is of course the most interesting of the series, because in the figure of the spoon-carver we see duplicated a motif known to us from the Princeton manuscript (Fig. 60), where however it is used to illustrate a different chapter. It is now all the more apparent that this theme originated in some context other than the Climax. It has already been suggested that the source in question was a whole cycle of such hermit-scenes.

CHAP. XX, CONCLUSION: FOL. 97<sup>r</sup>

The monk stands on a ladder with a broad base tapering toward the top (Fig. 115, left). Vainglory, ἡ κενοδοξία, and Unbelief, ἡ ἀπιστία, attempt to impede him; both of these personifications are light-skinned. The picture has neither frame nor gold background, but the segment of heaven is so shaped as to imply a rectangular format. At the end of this sermon, according to the text recension of Vat. gr. 394, the author cautions his readers against Timidity, "the child of Vainglory and the daughter of Unbelief,"<sup>181</sup> the two last-named being personified in the illustration. In the Rader-Migne edition of the text, this passage appears at the beginning of the twenty-first chapter, rather than at the close of the twentieth—which is no doubt the proper arrangement, inasmuch as "timidity" is the subject of chapter XXI. As it happens, the division of these chapters in Stauronikita 50 is identical to that of Migne, so that quite by chance the illustration (Fig. 157) forms an apt title picture to the twenty-first homily. Here the two personifications stand firmly on the ground, and the ladder is shortened and of more conventional shape.

CHAP. XXI, TITLE: FOL. 97<sup>r</sup>

Like its companion picture, the title illustration of "timidity" lacks both frame and gold ground (Fig. 115, right). The author, ὁ ἄγιος ἰω(άννης),

<sup>181</sup> *ibid.*, col. 945B.

instructs two brethren by pointing to Timidity, who suitably runs away. The inscription beside her reads: ἡ δειλία θυγάτηρ ἐστὶ τῆς ἀπιστί(ς) (Timidity is the daughter of Unbelief), a reference to the passage cited above.<sup>132</sup>

CHAP. XXI, CONCLUSION: FOL. 98<sup>r</sup>

In this miniature (Fig. 116, left) the ladder is shaped like that in the preceding scene. A black, winged demon dances before the monk, who turns his head to look at an angel flying behind him, but still keeps his hands directed toward the arc of heaven. The signs over the figures refer to words similarly marked in the text above the miniature, the passage in question reading as follows: "When an unseen spirit is near, the body is afraid; but when an angel standeth by, the soul of the humble exulteth."<sup>133</sup> In the Stauronikita replica of this scene (Fig. 158), the form of the demon has been erased and crudely repainted by a later hand, probably the same one that added the flowery border about the miniature.

CHAP. XXII, TITLE: FOL. 98<sup>r</sup>

The chapter on "vainglory" opens with a scene of the author, ὁ ἄ(γ)ιος ἰω(άν)νης, instructing two monks (Fig. 116, right). He points out to his listeners two personifications inscribed: ἡ κενοδοξία καὶ ἡ ὑπερηφ(α)νία τοῦ διαβόλ(ου) τὸ ζευγάρ(ιον) (Vainglory and Pride, the team of the devil). This pair of vices is mentioned at the beginning of the homily.<sup>134</sup>

CHAP. XXII, CONCLUSION: FOL. 102<sup>r</sup>

The monk crouches at the top of the ladder before the arc of heaven (Fig. 117, left). Pride, ἡ ὑπερηφ(α)νία, reaches up as if to seize him. Beside her stands Vainglory, who is winged, and inscribed: ἡ κενοδοξία ἡ μ(ή)τηρ ἐστὶ τ(ῆ)ς ὑπερηφ(α)νίας (Vainglory is the mother of Pride). The illustration in the Stauronikita Climax is almost identical (Fig. 159). The presence of the two vices and the wings given to Vainglory are accounted for by the final sentence of the homily: "As a worm when it hath come to maturity often groweth wings and riseth up on high, so vainglory when it is brought to fullness begetteth pride."<sup>135</sup>

CHAP. XXIII, TITLE: FOL. 102<sup>r</sup>

In the customary teaching scene (Fig. 117, right), the author, ὁ ἄ(γ)ιος ἰω(άν)νης, indicates the winged figure of Pride, ἡ ὑπερηφ(α)νία, the theme of the chapter. The wings are not explained by the text, and were perhaps merely suggested by those of Vainglory at the left.

<sup>132</sup> *loc.cit.*

<sup>133</sup> *ibid.*, col. 948A.

<sup>134</sup> *ibid.*, col. 948D.

<sup>135</sup> *ibid.*, col. 956D.

## THE CYCLIC ILLUSTRATION OF THE TEXT

### PART I, CONCLUSION: FOL. 105<sup>r</sup>

The first portion of the sermon is furnished with a concluding miniature, as at the end of a chapter proper (Fig. 118, left). The ladder is a solid block of gold, the rungs and sides being defined in yellow and brown; at the summit the monk bows (as indeed the increasing height of the ladder compels him to do) before the arc of heaven. The Stauronikita illustration (Fig. 160) is the more accurate in showing twenty-three rungs, whereas in the Vatican miniature they are only twenty.

### PART 2, TITLE: FOL. 105<sup>r</sup>

St. John, ὁ ἄ(γιος) ἰω(άννης), points to three winged figures (Fig. 118, right). Vainglory and Pride, ἡ κενοδοξία and ἡ ὑπερηφάνεια, both dark-skinned, lead between them a small black demon, described as "the offspring of Blasphemy," ὁ ἀπόγονος τ(ῆ)ς βλασφημίας.<sup>136</sup>

### CHAP. XXIII, CONCLUSION: FOL. 107<sup>r</sup>

A miniature at the close of the second part serves to terminate the whole chapter (Fig. 119, left). The climbing monk strides vigorously upward, reaching out to the arc of heaven, while two winged female figures hold up their hands to him. They are inscribed πραότης (Meekness) and ἀπλότης (Simplicity). Here is encountered a curious inconsistency, for "meekness" and "simplicity" are among the subjects treated in the following chapter. In the counterpart of this miniature in the Stauronikita Climax (Fig. 161) the two personifications are deprived of their wings; as Meekness and Simplicity, moreover, they form a suitable title picture to the twenty-fourth homily.

### CHAP. XXIV, TITLE: FOL. 107<sup>r</sup>

"Meekness, simplicity, guilelessness, and wickedness" is the title of this chapter, which is preceded by the almost unchanging scene of teaching (Fig. 119, right). St. John points to Guilelessness and Wickedness, ἡ ἀκακία καὶ ἡ πονηρία, both personified as winged female figures; Wickedness lays her hand on the shoulder of her virtuous companion. It would thus appear that both miniatures on this page have reference to the twenty-fourth homily, Meekness and Simplicity being represented at the left, and Guilelessness and Wickedness at the right—unless, of course, the inscriptions at the left are to be regarded as incorrect, through some lapse on the part of the illustrator.

<sup>136</sup> Literally, "the offspring of Blasphemy." But the text makes it clear that the reference is to "Blasphemy, the offspring of Pride" (*ibid.*, col. 976B).

## THE CYCLES

CHAP. XXIV, CONCLUSION: FOL. 109<sup>v</sup>

This very simple illustration (Fig. 120, left) shows the monk praying on the ladder, which has now increased in height to twenty-four steps. The picture is much the same in *Stauronikita* 50 (Fig. 162).

CHAP. XXV, TITLE: FOL. 109<sup>v</sup>

John Climacus, ὁ ἄ(γιος) ἰω(άννης), draws to the attention of the monks the meekly bowing figure of Humility, ἡ ταπεινοφροσύνη, the theme of his discourse (Fig. 120, right).

CHAP. XXV, CONCLUSION: FOL. 117<sup>r</sup>

The concluding miniature (Fig. 121, left), with the monk bowing humbly at the summit of the ladder, resembles that of the preceding homily. As is invariably true, the *Stauronikita* miniaturist had added a gold background (Fig. 163).

CHAP. XXVI, TITLE: FOL. 117<sup>r</sup>

"Discretion" is the subject of the chapter, which has three parts. The artist evidently felt himself unable to personify this elusive quality, for the title picture (Fig. 121, right) merely represents the author, ὁ ἄ(γιος) ἰω(άννης), addressing two monks.

PART 1, CONCLUSION: FOL. 123<sup>r</sup>

At the end of the first part, the monk adopts a half-crouching posture on the ladder (Fig. 122, left). To this composition the *Stauronikita* miniaturist has added the arc of heaven (Fig. 164).

PART 2, TITLE: FOL. 123<sup>r</sup>

Three monks listen to the words of St. John, ὁ ἄ(γιος) ἰω(άννης) (Fig. 122, right). The marginal vignette of a stag drinking from a leafy spring illustrates the opening line of the second part: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks. . . ." <sup>187</sup> The illustrator of *Stauronikita* 50 has included a similar stag (Fig. 164), though omitting of course the title picture itself. In the *Princeton Climax*, it will be recalled, the stag appears within a decorated initial (Fig. 57).

PART 3, TITLE: FOL. 132<sup>r</sup>

There is no ladder picture at the close of the second part. Consequently the handsome miniature at the head of section 3 (Fig. 123) occupies the whole width of the text columns, where otherwise two miniatures would

<sup>187</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1056D.

appear side by side. Here St. John is enthroned in the role of teacher, the number of listeners being increased from the usual two or three to eight. For those at the right the artist apparently tired of inventing facial types and instead used a group of apostles as models; the three nearer brethren have the features of Paul, Matthew, and Andrew, and those in the rear, of Simon (or Bartholomew) and Luke. The group may be compared with a scene in Dionysiu cod. 587 (fol. 32<sup>v</sup>)<sup>138</sup> showing the Mission of the Apostles: Paul, Matthew, and Andrew stand in the front rank at the left, the head of Luke appearing directly behind that of Paul. Peter and Paul, it will be remembered, are also represented on fol. 7<sup>r</sup> of the Vatican Climax (Fig. 70).

As might be expected, the Stauronikita illustrator has not attempted to reproduce this scene. There being no ladder picture at this place in the model, he has been content to show a single, stolid monk (perhaps the author) walking toward the arc of heaven, from which three rays emanate (Fig. 165).

CHAP. XXVI, CONCLUSION: FOL. 135<sup>v</sup>

The chapter concludes with a picture of the monk on the ladder, his hands held out in supplication (Fig. 124, left). The miniature in Stauronikita 50 (Fig. 166) again corresponds closely to the Vatican illustration, but is of course made to serve as introduction to the succeeding homily.

CHAP. XXVII, TITLE: FOL. 135<sup>v</sup>

For the title picture of "solitude," the teaching scene is given a variant form (Fig. 124, right). The author sits in three-quarter view at the left, with two monks standing before him.

CHAP. XXVII, PART 2: FOL. 138<sup>r</sup>

The symmetrical scheme is resumed (Fig. 125), as St. John sits between two standing listeners. But here, unlike most teaching scenes, he wears the nimbus.

Stauronikita 50 has been defaced by the cutting out of a miniature on fol. 193<sup>v</sup>, which was no doubt a title picture to the second part of the chapter, comparable to that on fol. 185<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 165).

FOL. 138<sup>v</sup>

Within the left text column there appears a gold ladder of eight rungs; and in the margin is seen John Climacus, ὁ ἄγγελος ἰω(άννης), pointing toward it, with two monks in attendance (Fig. 126). This illustrates the passage in the twenty-seventh homily wherein the author describes an imaginary ladder of eight rounds, each one a separate quality, by which a monk may

<sup>138</sup> Weitzmann, "The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations," pl. xxiv (here cited as cod. 740).



determine his standing.<sup>139</sup> The various characteristics which make up the ladder are written in gold script below. The same passage, it was earlier pointed out, is illustrated in the Princeton Climax (cf. Fig. 62) and in Sinai gr. 417 (Fig. 4).

CHAP. XXVIII, TITLE: FOL. 144<sup>r</sup>

There is no ladder picture at the end of the twenty-seventh homily. The twenty-eighth, "on prayer," is headed by a teaching scene (Fig. 127). The author, again wearing a nimbus, is seated between two listening monks. In the margin to the left stands Devotion, *παράστασ(ις)*, her arms folded piously across her breast; on the right, Prayer, *προσευχ(ή)*, raises her arms in supplication. Devotion, as a necessary accompaniment of Prayer, is named in the title of the chapter.<sup>140</sup>

As we have more than once observed, when the picture of the climbing monk is lacking in the Vatican Climax, the Stauronikita miniaturist invariably contrives to invent a simple composition, never copying the teaching scene which forms the real title illustration. Here he has represented a monk with upraised arms, probably St. John himself, gazing at a little angel in the upper right (Fig. 167).

CHAP. XXVIII, CONCLUSION: FOL. 149<sup>r</sup>

The monk on the ladder here wears a nimbus (Fig. 128). As he lifts up his arms to heaven, Prayer, *ἡ προσευχ(ή)*, who holds a scroll in her left hand, offers him a golden wreath. At the right are seen two demons, *οἱ δαίμον(ες)*, one of whom takes aim at the monk with bow and arrow; the other is partly cut off by the edge of the page and is so rubbed as to be almost invisible. The scene is explained by a passage near the end of the chapter in which the author says: "The unholy ones do not wish to behold thee receive a crown from thy struggle against them through prayer."<sup>141</sup>

The illustration in the Stauronikita Climax (Fig. 168) is essentially the same, but certain details have been obscured by heavy repainting. The wreath in the hand of Prayer has become a meaningless object, the first demon has been given an animal's head, and the bow and arrow have entirely disappeared.

CHAP. XXIX, TITLE: FOL. 149<sup>v</sup>

The title illustration of "tranquillity" (Fig. 129) spans the whole width of the two columns of text. At the left John Climacus is seated in a high wicker chair somewhat like that which he occupies on fol. 41<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 82); he wears a nimbus outlined in red and elevates his arms as he speaks to two

<sup>139</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 1105B-C.

<sup>140</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1129A.

<sup>141</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1140C.

monks on the opposite side. In an oval mandorla, delicately shaded from pale blue to white, stands the figure of Tranquillity with arms outspread. The inscription around her reads: ἡ ἀπάθ(εια) ἔχει τὰς ἀρετ(ὰς) κόσμον (Tranquillity hath the virtues as her ornament). From behind the mandorla emerge the heads of six female figures, three on either side. A segment of heaven appears at the top, and below is a dark abyss, λάκκος, in which lies a monk, drawn in white on the black ground. The composition is completed by the architecture on each side.

This complex scene is an illustration of the opening words of the chapter: "Behold, even we, who are set in the deepest pit of ignorance, in dark passions and in the shadow of the death of this body, now make bold to begin to speculate concerning heaven on earth. For as the firmament hath the stars for its beauty, so hath Tranquillity the virtues as her ornament."<sup>142</sup> The significance of the miniature now becomes clear. Tranquillity is "heaven on earth," and the arc of the celestial heaven is therefore seen above her. Surrounding her are the virtues which are her adornment. And the monk lying in the abyss is presumably John Climacus himself, "set in the deepest pit of ignorance."<sup>143</sup>

The unusual motif of Tranquillity within a mandorla, with the virtues peering from the sides, is perhaps not wholly the artist's invention. A miniature in Paris gr. 134, a Job manuscript, offers an interesting analogy. On fol. 50<sup>r144</sup> Job is shown cursing the day of his birth. He contemplates two personifications; one is Night, with the traditional veil over her head, and the other, who stands within a mandorla around which twelve female figures are grouped, is probably to be interpreted as the Year surrounded by the twelve Months (or perhaps as Day accompanied by the Hours).

CHAP. XXIX, CONCLUSION: FOL. 151<sup>v</sup>

At the close of the chapter (Fig. 130, left) the monk kneels at the top of the ladder before Christ, whose head and nimbus break the upper edge of the miniature. If there is any particular significance in the inclusion of the Lord, it is no doubt to be explained by the final words of the homily: "Be still, and know that I am God, and Tranquillity."<sup>145</sup> In the Stauronikita miniature (Fig. 169) the ladder has for some reason been omitted, so that the monk, who wears a close-fitting cap, kneels on nothing; the Lord has a cruciform nimbus, and is inscribed ἰ(ησοῦ)ς χ(ριστό)ς. Because it is used as

<sup>142</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1148B.

<sup>143</sup> The "pit of ignorance," it will be recalled, is also pictured, but without textual motivation, in the concluding scene of chapter XVIII (Fig. 111).

<sup>144</sup> Cf. H. Bordier, *Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1883, p. 224.

<sup>145</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 1152B.

a title illustration to the final chapter, this picture is the last one in the cycle of the *Heavenly Ladder* in Stauronikita 50.

CHAP. XXX, TITLE: FOL. 151<sup>v</sup>

The thirtieth chapter concerns "faith, hope, and charity." St. John, once more without a nimbus, is seated addressing two monks and pointing to four female personifications who approach him with outstretched hands (Fig. 130, right). These, as the inscriptions make clear, are Tranquillity, ἡ ἀπάθ(εια), and Faith, Hope, and Charity, πίστις, ἐλπ(ις) καὶ ἀγάπ(η). Over the last three appears the further notation: ἡ ἀγ(ία) τρι(ὰς) (the Holy Trinity).<sup>146</sup> The appearance of Tranquillity in this scene is to be accounted for by the author's statement that "charity and tranquillity . . . differ in name only."<sup>147</sup>

CHAP. XXX, CONCLUSION: FOL. 154<sup>r</sup>

The monk stands on the thirtieth rung of a golden ladder (Fig. 131). With arms outspread, he exclaims: δόξα σοι ὁ θε(ός)ς (glory be to thee, O God). At the left Faith, Hope, and Charity, πίστ(ις), ἐλπ(ις), ἀγάπ(η), offer him wreaths symbolic of victory. An inscription at the right is a statement of congratulation: ἀνέδραμ(ες) ἡνώθ(ης) τῷ θε(ε)ῷ (thou hast mounted; thou hast been made one with God). These words are not from the thirtieth chapter of the Climax, but from the final section of the *Homily to the Pastor*, in which the author praises the abbot of Raithu: "Unto all of us art thou a guide, who dost mount to the very peak of the blessed ladder and art made one with charity. And charity is God."<sup>148</sup>

FOL. 155<sup>r</sup>

The treatise concludes on this page with the final exhortation. In the accompanying miniature (Fig. 132) the monk is seen receiving his reward after the arduous ascent. He stands bowing before the feet of Christ on the topmost rung of a gold ladder, which extends almost over the whole length of the page. The Lord, enthroned in a mandorla, is surrounded by the heavenly host; in the front rank stand the archangels, clad in the jeweled imperial loros. The inscription beside the monk is almost identical to that in the preceding miniature: ἀνέδραμ(ες) ἡνώθ(ης) τῷ θε(ε)ῷ καλὲ φίλ(ε) καὶ ἀδελφ(ή) (good friend and brother, thou hast mounted and art made one with God). John Climacus stands at the right, with one hand pointing to the splendor of the celestial gathering, and with the other to the words written in the margin. Above is the inscription, ὁ ἅ(γιος) ἰω(άννης) ὁ τῆς

<sup>146</sup> Cf. the similar equation of the Pauline virtues with the Holy Trinity in the lost miniature on fol. 190<sup>v</sup> of the Princeton Climax.

<sup>147</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 1156B.

<sup>148</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1208A.

κλίμ(ακος) λ(έ)γ(ει) (St. John Climacus saith). Then follows a series of excerpts from various chapters in the work.

Much of the effectiveness of the miniature results from its rich colors. Christ wears garments of blue and brown, and is seated on a red cushion; the footstool, with its diaper pattern, is green. The mandorla has a blue outer edge, modulated to white at the center. Two of the archangels are appareled in light blue and gold, and the other two in violet and gold; the tip of the loros worn by each figure is crimson. The haloes of the front rank alone are gold; those immediately behind are pale blue, the ones in the rear being merely outlined in light brown.

The *Homily to the Pastor* is not illustrated in Vat. gr. 394, but there are two miniatures accompanying this text in Stauronikita 50. In the first (Fig. 170), at the head of the treatise, John Climacus speaks to a monk standing opposite him; the author has a nimbus, and holds a staff. The second person is no doubt the abbot of Raithu, to whom the Homily is likewise addressed. The second miniature (Fig. 171) shows only the standing figure of the author.

Many of the miniatures in Vat. gr. 394 have obviously been invented for the Climax text. The pictures at the end of each chapter, showing the monk's upward progress, are to be included in this category. With them must be grouped the narrative scenes and other literal illustrations of passages in the text. Such are the vignette of the man pursuing his shadow (Fig. 76) and the scenes of the penitents in the fifth homily. Less closely associated with the text, but revealing even greater originality, are the numerous personifications that enliven the otherwise stereotyped pictures of Climacus teaching and of the monk ascending the ladder.

The remaining miniatures have been drawn from a wide variety of sources. A few scenes are direct borrowings from Biblical iconography: the Temptation and Expulsion (Fig. 106) were copied from an Octateuch, and the Last Judgment (Fig. 73) from a gospel cycle. Still another source is indicated by the vignette of the spoon-carver on fol. 95<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 114), which, like its replica in the Princeton manuscript, we may imagine as being derived from a lost cycle of hermit-scenes. From this same source, as will be seen later, must also come the aged fathers being carried by younger monks, in the picture on fol. 41<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 82). On fol. 12<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 73) a selection of four episodes from the labors of the months has been combined with the Last Judgment to create a new scene. And a similarly free adaptation has been made of the classical personification of *Kairos* (Figs. 70 and 72).

It was remarked by Kondakov<sup>149</sup> that despite the richness of its illustra-

<sup>149</sup> N. Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures*, Paris, 1886-91, II, pp. 130f.

tions Vat. gr. 394 produces an effect of monotony. He was referring, no doubt, principally to the succession of scenes of teaching and of the climbing monk which enclose each chapter. The charge of monotony is hardly justified, for in reality it is precisely this deliberate repetition that gives the cycle its effectiveness. The ladder pictures, we have seen, must have been invented for the text; but the scene of instruction is a common one in Byzantine art and is in no sense peculiar to the Climax. It may indeed be traced back to antiquity. We learn from the ninth-century Nestorian Christian Hunayn-ibn-Ishâq, who translated Greek authors into Arabic and Syriac, that in ancient rolls there was at the beginning of each book the portrait of a seated philosopher with his pupils gathered before him.<sup>150</sup> No ancient book containing such portraits has come down to us, but as is often true the tradition seems to be preserved in mediaeval works. A reminiscence of it is no doubt to be found in certain title pictures of the Vatican Climax. On fol. 41<sup>r</sup>, for example (Fig. 82), St. John is seated in a wicker chair at the left with his listeners standing in front of him, a type which may be imagined as being close to the classic tradition. The fact that he is without the nimbus indicates that he is represented in the informal role of a teacher, not that of a saint enthroned. But in most title pictures this simple scheme has been considerably modified: the composition has become symmetrical, and the author is seated in the middle between his listeners, the effect being at once more monumental and more hieratic. The miniature on fol. 132<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 123) is typical of these "balanced" teaching scenes, which are characteristically mediaeval. Even in these, however, the nimbus is usually suppressed.

Consideration must now be given to the probable date of origin of the Climax cycle of Vat. gr. 394. There is reason to suspect that it is not original with the manuscript itself. In most instances the final illustration of one chapter and the title picture of the next are set side by side; occasionally they are even merged so that the effect is that of a single miniature (e.g. Fig. 101). It may be assumed, I think, that originally these two pictures were quite distinct, as we see them, for example, on fol. 51<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 97) and fol. 132<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 123). The fourth and twenty-seventh homilies are not provided with the usual concluding scene of the monk on the ladder. It is difficult to believe that a series so carefully conceived did not include the missing pictures. In addition, a few miniatures are without identifying inscriptions. Thus the meaning of the scene on fol. 89<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 108) is largely obscured because the personifications are unnamed. We may be sure that in an earlier version their identity was established by means of inscriptions. In several scenes of the monk on the ladder the number of rungs fails to agree with the

<sup>150</sup> L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, 10th edition, Leipzig, 1921-23, III, p. 56 (with bibliography).

number of the chapter. It is conceivable that even an original cycle might have contained certain oversights of this kind, but the numerous inconsistencies in the Vatican codex are to be explained only as resulting from the process of copying.

The most striking feature of the cycle is its allegorical character. Vat. gr. 394 contains more than fifty different personifications of abstract qualities discussed by the author. In this imposing assemblage Kondakov professed to see "a heritage of the mythological traditions of ancient Greece, which were bequeathed to Byzantine art."<sup>151</sup> Some of the figures have, admittedly, a distinctly classical appearance; this is particularly true of the personification of Life as a nude youth standing on wheels, which we have seen to be founded on an antique allegorical conception. But this is an exceptional instance, for most of the personifications are not at all classical in type, as becomes clearer when they are compared with early Christian works in which the influence of the late antique still prevails. The Genesis manuscript in Vienna offers a typical example of the use of personifications in the early period. In the scene of the Expulsion in that manuscript, the first parents are accompanied by an unnamed female figure, probably to be understood as Repentance.<sup>152</sup> The figure conforms to antique usage in that she plays a passive role, merely conjuring up by her presence the emotion felt by the human pair. This is not true of the personifications of the Vatican Climax, who are active participants in a real sense. Gluttony gorges herself; Sloth reclines lazily at the foot of the ladder; other vices clutch at the feet of the climbing monk, while the virtues urge him onward. There is no evidence to suggest that this lively conception of personifications was developed in the pre-iconoclastic era.

The manuscript which at once comes to mind in speaking of Byzantine personifications is the Paris Psalter (Bibl. Nat., cod. gr. 139). Our concern here is not with the personifications of geographical localities such as Mount Sinai and the Red Sea, but only with those of abstractions. The qualities of Force, Meekness, Strength, Pride, Penitence, and Prayer<sup>153</sup> are all envisaged as maidens who play an active part in the scenes, and who are thus comparable in spirit, if not in number, to the vices and virtues of the Climax manuscript.<sup>154</sup> There is, notwithstanding, a fundamental difference. The

<sup>151</sup> Kondakov, *op.cit.*, p. 134.

<sup>152</sup> The identity of the figure is not certain. Cf. P. Buberl, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften*, I (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, new series, IV, pt. 4), Leipzig, 1937, p. 84, pl. XXI, no. 2.

<sup>153</sup> Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pls. II, III, IV, VIII and XIV.

<sup>154</sup> On the distinction between active and passive personifications, see K. Weitzmann, "Der Pariser Psalter MS. grec 139 und die mittelbyzantinische Renaissance," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1929, pp. 178ff.



Psalter figures are infinitely more classical, revealing by their dress and posture that they have been copied from antique models. By contrast, the personifications of Vat. gr. 394 seem to lose their air of antiquity and to assume a more thoroughly mediaeval appearance. Their dress, moreover, is not the classical chiton, but a sleeved and belted tunic. It is not to be supposed that such figures were conceived as conscious imitations of classical models.

Among the dismembered enamels of the crown of Constantine Monomachos, now in Budapest, are two plaques with the figures of Truth and Humility.<sup>155</sup> They wear a costume which, though it is somewhat more ornate, closely resembles in its essential features that of the personifications in the Vatican Climax: the skirt reaching to the feet, the three-quarter-length tunic, belted and with a broad collar and lower border, and the fillet about the hair. The enamels of the crown are dated by the imperial portraits between the years 1042 and 1050. Another monument which may be cited in this connection is Vat. gr. 1927, a psalter of the twelfth century. The iconography of this manuscript is singular in that it conforms to neither of the two established psalter recensions—the so-called aristocratic and monastic groups. Not the least unusual feature is its inclusion of the scene of the heavenly ladder, as remarked above (cf. Fig. 296). But what is more interesting is that it contains a number of personifications of the same kind as those in Vat. gr. 394. On fol. 61<sup>v</sup>,<sup>156</sup> in the lower register, the figure of Mercy is represented holding a palm branch over a generous man, in illustration of the words: "He is ever merciful, and lendeth." The miniature on fol. 156<sup>r</sup><sup>157</sup> shows four personifications, in a literal enactment of the verse: "Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other." The costume of these figures is again almost identical with that of the virtues and vices in codex 394. Like the Climax personifications, moreover, they exist in their own right, and not as mere adjuncts to the principal action. The fact that the closest parallels are to be found in mid-Byzantine works—in eleventh-century enamels and a twelfth-century manuscript—speaks strongly in favor of a date in the eleventh century for the cycle of Vat. gr. 394. It would thus appear that the cycle cannot be much older than the manuscript.

The relationship of Stauronikita 50 to Vat. gr. 394 presents an interesting example of the direct dependence of one manuscript upon another. It has been observed how faithfully the facial types, the gestures, and even the arrangement of drapery of the Vatican miniatures are reproduced in the

<sup>155</sup> M. Bárány-Oberschall, *The Crown of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos*, Budapest, 1937, pp. 53f. and 78, pls. ix-x.

<sup>156</sup> DeWald, *Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, pp. 14f., pl. xvii, no. 2.

<sup>157</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 25f., pl. xxxvi, no. 2.

Stauronikita Climax. This striking resemblance between two manuscripts differing in date by two to three centuries can be accounted for only by regarding the Athos Climax as a direct copy of codex 394.<sup>158</sup> The errors of omission are identical: wherever a ladder picture is lacking in the Vatican manuscript, it is likewise missing in Stauronikita 50. And the miniatures inserted to fill these gaps in the later codex are so palpably the invention of the illustrator that there is no need to imagine them as having been copied from an intermediate model.

The correspondence in color between the two manuscripts is by no means as close. The Stauronikita illustrator invariably retains the gold background for his miniatures, even when it has been omitted in the Vatican codex, and his choice of hues for the costumes is not always in agreement with those of the older manuscript. But it is significant that on occasion he employs colors which exactly duplicate those of Vat. gr. 394: on fol. 98<sup>r</sup>, for example, the figure of Slander lying across the ladder (Fig. 147) has the gray flesh and the blue and violet garments seen in the corresponding Vatican miniature (Fig. 102).

What is chiefly remarkable about the illustrations of Stauronikita 50 is the unimaginative manner in which the Vatican cycle has been abbreviated. If the artist had merely transposed each ladder picture from the end to the beginning of the homily, he would have succeeded in making a suitable series of illustrations. But such was the authority of the model that he felt constrained not to alter the position of the miniatures in relation to the text, with the result that the illustrations are out of step with the chapters. Only twice did he attempt to rectify this situation by regrouping the figures in the miniature (fols. 101<sup>v</sup> and 103<sup>v</sup>).

Mention may be made, finally, of Vat. gr. 2147, a little paper codex of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. It contains forty miniatures in ink and water color, which have been copied directly from those of codex 394 in the same library. The work has no text, but is quite simply a picture-book of selected illustrations from the cycle, with accompanying chapter-titles in Latin. The opening miniature (Fig. 172) is a transcription of the title illustration of the first chapter in the earlier codex, showing the author addressing the people, and the monk fleeing from Life (cf. Fig. 70). The manuscript also includes the scenes of the penitents in the fifth homily, but in disordered sequence. Fol. 13<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 173) shows four such miniatures.

<sup>158</sup> The text recensions, however, are not identical, there being occasional disagreements in the wording of titles and in the inclusion or omission of the final sentences. The most conspicuous discrepancy appears in the division of the text between chapters xx and xxi, as noted above. Thus, although the illustrations of the Stauronikita codex are based directly on those of Vat. gr. 394, it is apparent that the text was copied from another manuscript.

The first and third are copied from fol. 43<sup>v</sup> of Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 87); the second from the lower scene on fol. 43<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 86); and the fourth from that on fol. 44<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 88), omitting, however, the figure of David at the left. The series continues only through the fourteenth chapter. A few of the miniatures give the original inscriptions in Greek, but the style and the Latin chapter-titles indicate that the book is of western provenance.

### 3. *Sinai gr. 418*

It is fitting that the monastery of Sinai, where John Climacus' work was written, should preserve in its library one of the most richly illustrated manuscripts of the *Heavenly Ladder*. Sinai gr. 418, a twelfth-century codex with forty-three miniatures, is of a different pictorial recension from both the Princeton manuscript and Vat. gr. 394.

#### FRONTISPIECE: FOL. 2<sup>r</sup>

The first miniature (Fig. 174) serves as a frontispiece. Beneath a cusped arch stands an ornamented cross on a stepped base; centered on it is a medallion containing a heraldic bird. The cross is flanked above by two doves, and below are two heraldically opposed lions, seated on either side. The spandrels of the arch are decorated with a floral pattern, and the background is gold. In the orientalizing spirit of the decoration, the miniature finds analogies in the Norman mosaics of the Royal Palace at Palermo, where similar heraldic birds and animals are represented.<sup>159</sup>

#### THE DEDICATION: FOL. 2<sup>v</sup>

A second full-page miniature (Fig. 175) represents the author, Ο ἸΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΚΛΙΜΑΚΟΣ, offering his book to Christ, ἸΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ. Both figures are shown in full length against a gold background, making an impressive picture of dedication. The subject occurs in no other Climax manuscript known to me.

It is not, however, a pure invention by the artist. For the scene of presentation can be shown to have evolved from the series of standing portraits in gospel books.<sup>160</sup> The initial stage is typified by a manuscript of the gospels in the Princeton University Library (Garrett MS 6), the miniatures of which are insertions from an earlier codex of the ninth or tenth century. Christ, the Virgin, and three of the evangelists—Matthew is missing—are represented standing frontally in what must have been a series of frontispiece

<sup>159</sup> O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London, 1949, pp. 180ff., pls. 113-119.

<sup>160</sup> On these portraits see A. M. Friend, Jr., "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies*, v, 1927, pp. 124ff.

pictures.<sup>161</sup> All except the Virgin hold a book. A second step is exemplified by Vat. gr. 756, a gospel book of the eleventh century: here the four standing evangelists, each holding a book, are assembled on one page and represented as turning toward the figure of Christ on the opposite leaf.<sup>162</sup> The final stage in the evolution of the presentation picture is to be seen in Venice gr. 540, where Christ and the four evangelists are shown within a single miniature.<sup>163</sup> The posture of the Lord, who holds a scroll in his left hand and extends his right in blessing, is closely matched in the dedication scene of Sinai gr. 418; the evangelists, like John Climacus, stand on the right with heads bowed. They do not, it is true, hold their books. For this feature we must seek a parallel in Vat. gr. 756. There can be little doubt that the unique dedication picture of the Sinai Climax was derived from a gospel or lectionary frontispiece showing the four evangelists offering their writings to the Lord.

THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS: FOLS. 3<sup>r</sup> AND 13<sup>r</sup>

The illustration accompanying John of Raithu's letter is enclosed within an ornamented head-piece (Fig. 176). At the right, the letter is handed by him to a messenger wearing a short tunic, who in turn delivers it to John Climacus on the opposite side. The abbot of Raithu is portrayed as dark-haired and his correspondent as an aged man with white hair.

At the close of John Raithu's letter is seen a double arcade of the kind used for the Eusebian canon tables (Fig. 177). Beneath each arch is a cross with two arms on a stepped base.

By way of variation, the decorated head-piece of John Climacus' reply (fol. 13<sup>r</sup>) contains only the words of the title. Two vignettes, each of rectangular shape and with a gold background, occupy the right margin (Fig. 178). In the upper one, the servant takes the letter from the author; and below, it is delivered by him to John Raithu. Both abbots are seated, their feet resting on a low footstool.

THE HEAVENLY LADDER: FOL. 15<sup>v</sup>

A full-page miniature with gold background (Fig. 179) represents the heavenly ladder. The figures themselves are somewhat flaked. Four monks are seen ascending, while small black imps assail them; one of the climbers is clutched by the hair, and another by the foot. The uppermost monk is aided by Christ, who reaches out to grasp his hand. The Lord, placed within a

<sup>161</sup> Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pp. 56f., pl. LXIII, nos. 374-378. The manuscript was formerly no. 5 in the library of Andreaskiti on Mt. Athos.

<sup>162</sup> Friend, *op.cit.*, p. 133, figs. 84-85.

<sup>163</sup> Reproduced in G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, Paris, 1896-1905, III, fig. on p. 105.

gold medallion which breaks the border of the picture, wears a cruciform nimbus and, like the Pantocrator, holds a book in his left hand. Standing stiffly in a row at the bottom are three men wearing domical white caps and extending their hands. Since their dress shows them to be secular,<sup>164</sup> they must represent those who seek to leave the world and become monks. The dragon has been omitted; but the most curious feature of the scene is that John Climacus himself is not included in it.

CHAP. I: FOL. 16<sup>r</sup>

The illustrations of individual chapters are for the most part set within decorative head-pieces of the sort already described. For the first homily the artist has chosen to represent the author writing his work (Fig. 180). The portrait, which in general adheres to the type employed in most manuscripts as a full-page miniature, shows St. John seated before a desk with a lectern and writing in a book supported in his hand. He is, however, quite inconsistently pictured as having dark hair and beard. It will be recalled that a minute author portrait (now removed) was likewise used to illustrate the first chapter of the Princeton Climax (fol. 9<sup>r</sup>). This of course merely reflects the practice of placing the portrait of an evangelist at the head of his gospel. In addition, the Sinai miniature serves to complement the scene of the heavenly ladder on the opposite page, in which, as has been pointed out, the author does not appear.

CHAP. II: FOL. 27<sup>r</sup>

In the illustration of the second rung, "on dispassionateness" (Fig. 181), a bearded man, his face averted, holds out his hand to two other figures; one stands before him, wearing a tunic with long sleeves that dangle over his hands, and the second is a cripple crouching at his feet and supporting himself on low crutches. Kondakov is doubtless correct in saying that the man at the left is to be understood as giving his belongings to the poor.<sup>165</sup> His upturned face seems to imply that he hears a voice from heaven. In the text, it may be noted, the author quotes the words of Matthew 19: 21: "Sell that thou hast, and give to the poor."<sup>166</sup>

CHAP. III, PART I: FOL. 31<sup>v</sup>

The illustration of "pilgrimage" (Fig. 182) represents a novice making his way barefoot through the desert and approaching a tiny cave in which

<sup>164</sup> The cap designates the wearer as a public official. Cf. the same headdress in the miniature of Julian the tax-collector in Paris gr. 550 (Omont, *op.cit.*, pl. cx, no. 2).

<sup>165</sup> Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, II, p. 134. The bearded figure is wrongly described as "an old hermit."

<sup>166</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXVIII, col. 656A.

the head of an anchorite is visible. The traveler is bearded and wears a knee-length tunic; over his shoulder he carries a staff from which hangs a basket. In this detail the miniature resembles the two illustrations of "pilgrimage" in Vat. gr. 394 (Figs. 74-75).

CHAP. III, PART 2: FOL. 37<sup>r</sup>

The miniature preceding the second portion of this homily, "on dreams," has suffered from flaking of the paint (Fig. 183). The novice, now dressed as a monk, lies asleep on a bed, the legs of which are hidden by a hanging cloth. Two winged demons hover over him to tempt him in his dream. In Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 75) the demons are represented under the guise of angels, as described in the text.

CHAP. IV: FOL. 39<sup>r</sup>

"Obedience" is pictured by six monks humbly listening to an abbot seated, staff in hand, in a chair at the left (Fig. 184). This figure, whose features are effaced, has a nimbus, and is doubtless John Climacus himself. The scene, accordingly, is one of instruction, again like those in the Vatican Climax (cf. Fig. 82).

CHAP. V: FOL. 79<sup>r</sup>

Two miniatures (Fig. 185) precede the fifth chapter, "on penitence." The medallion within the head-piece shows two groups of monks standing on either side and raising their hands to Christ; two others kneel below and similarly lift their arms. The Lord is seen only as a bust-portrait, with a crossed nimbus and hands outspread. The gesture of invitation recalls that of Christ at the head of the ladder in the Princeton Climax (Fig. 31).

Related to this is the rectangular miniature in the right margin, in which three penitent brethren, two of whom are kneeling, pray to the Virgin standing on a footstool. She is represented in the attitude of an orant, and on a scale that dwarfs the other figures. The Virgin's presence here finds no motivation in the text, but it is obvious that the monks are to be understood as calling upon her to intercede for them. The miniature may be compared to the dedication picture on fol. 2<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 175), which, it was suggested, was modeled after a gospel frontispiece showing the evangelists presenting their works to Christ. It is perhaps not going too far to see a similar derivation in the illustration of the Virgin. She is represented in exactly this way, standing in orant posture on a footstool, in one of the frontispiece miniatures of the Princeton-Garrett gospels already referred to.<sup>187</sup> With such a model before him, the artist would have had merely to add the three di-

<sup>187</sup> Weitzmann, *op.cit.*, pl. LXIII, no. 375.



minutive monks at her feet to produce the illustration in question. The analogy with the dedication scene serves to confirm this supposition.

CHAP. VI: FOL. 94<sup>v</sup>

"Remembrance of death" is illustrated by a grieving monk seated upon a rock, who contemplates a marble sarcophagus containing four bodies wrapped in shrouds (Fig. 186). As in other miniatures, the figure is largely flaked. Above, in the margin, is seen an ornamental motif of two birds flanking a vase. The scene is no doubt intended to show a monk reflecting on man's mortality, and as such may be an invention of the artist. Kondakov has suggested,<sup>168</sup> on the other hand, that it represents Macarius conversing with the dead. It is also to be noted that the miniature closely resembles two psalter illustrations: in Vat. gr. 1927, David kneels before two mummies ("Wilt thou show wonders to the dead?");<sup>169</sup> and in Leningrad, Publ. Lib., cod. gr. 266, the Psalmist is seated before three similarly shrouded figures (Ps. 118).<sup>170</sup> Although neither miniature contains a sarcophagus, it is possible that the Climax artist derived his picture from a psalter illustration such as these.

CHAP. VII: FOL. 99<sup>v</sup>

The homily is concerned with "sorrow." In the accompanying miniature (Fig. 187) a monk sits supporting his head on his hand within a little shelter with a tentlike roof. To the right appears a laden basket. It is evident from his attitude that the monk is engaged in sorrowful reflection. The nimbus about his head may serve to indicate that this is the author himself. It is probable that the object represented in the basket is a loaf of bread, and hence that the scene refers to Climacus' statement that "confession is a forgetfulness of nature, as when one hath forgotten to eat his bread."<sup>171</sup> This passage is very differently illustrated in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 98).

CHAP. VIII: FOL. 113<sup>v</sup>

A miniature of genre-like character (Fig. 188) illustrates the author's homily "on placidity and meekness." A monk seated before a lectern addresses a youth who stands gesturing to him. An open book rests on the lectern, and suspended above it is a tiny lamp. Below are seen two other figures, clad like the first youth in short tunics; one of them guides his companion by the hand and at the same time points within a tall chest with opened doors. The situation here represented must be concerned with toler-

<sup>168</sup> *op.cit.*, p. 135.

<sup>169</sup> DeWald, *Vaticanus Graecus* 1927, pl. xxxviii, no. 1.

<sup>170</sup> V. N. Lazarev, *Istoriia vizantiŭskoï zhivopisi*, Moscow, 1947-48, II, pl. 85a.

<sup>171</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 801D.

ance and forbearance; but there is nothing in the chapter that corresponds to it. We may surmise that the monk shown reading from a book is instructing his hearer in the principles of placidity. The chest perhaps represents a bookcase;<sup>172</sup> it may further be conjectured that the youth standing before it is directing his fellow to a book in which guidance is to be found.

CHAP. IX: FOL. 121<sup>r</sup>

Of somewhat the same character is the illustration of "malice" (Fig. 189). Seated on a throne in the center is a man clad in a long ornate tunic. He is flanked by two attendants, each with his foot placed on the back of a figure groveling before the throne. The seated person seems to address his two servants, one of whom beats his victim with a stick. Once again the illustration finds no counterpart in the text. It can only be concluded that the artist, prompted by the title "malice," has imagined a scene in which a rich man vents his wrath on two men by ordering his servants to beat them. The most unusual feature is that the miniature has no reference to the monastic life.

CHAP. X: FOL. 124<sup>r</sup>

With the picture of "slander" (Fig. 190) we return to a more familiar environment. An aged monk sitting on a stool addresses a brother who stands humbly before him with folded hands. A third, younger monk stands close behind the seated figure and whispers in his ear. Clearly the meek brother on the right is being slanderously accused by an informer. The scene is comparable to the illustration of this vice in the Princeton manuscript (Fig. 40).

CHAP. XI: FOL. 127<sup>v</sup>

Equally clear in meaning is the miniature preceding the homily "on talkativeness and silence" (Fig. 191). At the left stands a monk with both hands thrust out in animated fashion. A second, seated opposite him, presses his hands to his mouth to quell such an outburst of verbosity. This picture likewise finds a close counterpart in the Princeton Climax (Fig. 41).

CHAP. XII: FOL. 129<sup>v</sup>

This miniature, which illustrates "falsehood," is less easily understood (Fig. 192). A young man in a long tunic, with his right arm extended and the other placed across his breast, stands facing to the right. An erasure at this side of the picture probably denotes that a demon was represented here. An angel, partly effaced, is seen at the left, as if speaking to the man and seeking to dissuade him from holding converse with the demon of falsehood.

<sup>172</sup> It may be compared to the bookcase represented in a miniature of the Codex Amiatinus in Florence (E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1916, fig. 24).

CHAP. XIII: FOL. 132<sup>r</sup>

"Sloth" is figured by a monk seated before a lectern bearing an open book (Fig. 193). With eyes closed and his head resting on the book, he appears to have fallen asleep in the course of his reading, and thus forms an apt illustration of this evil.

CHAP. XIV: FOL. 135<sup>r</sup>

"Gluttony" is no less clearly set forth (Fig. 194). Before a building a bearded monk sits drinking from a cup, into which he pours wine from a small vessel. A bowl of wine, a goblet, and two square objects (possibly napkins) rest on a table, behind which a younger man likewise raises a cup. A third figure at the right bends low and seems to carry food to the table. John Climacus writes in this chapter: "I have seen elder priests deceived by demons, and leading novices . . . astray in banquets, with praises of wine and other things."<sup>173</sup> The miniature is plainly an illustration of this sentence. The older monk is presiding over a symposium, having invited two juniors to share his enjoyment of the wine.

In the margin to the right is pictured a cock crowing on a column. This motif, reminiscent of Peter's Denial,<sup>174</sup> is no doubt accounted for by the following passage in the text: "Laugh at the demon that prompteth thee after dinner to undertake fasts, for when the next ninth hour cometh, he will have denied the covenant of the day before."<sup>175</sup> The illustrator has seen here an analogy to Peter's denial of his Lord, despite his earlier avowal of faith.

CHAP. XV: FOL. 142<sup>v</sup>

The miniature of "chastity and temperance" (Fig. 195) is unfortunately so rubbed as to leave little but the gold ground intact. All that can be discerned is a single figure standing in the center of the picture and holding a staff.

CHAP. XVI: FOL. 162<sup>v</sup>

A secular subject forms the illustration of the sixteenth rung, "on avarice" (Fig. 196). A rich man, wearing a long garment and a white turban, sits on a cushioned throne and contemplates his wealth, represented by a high chest and a coffer. Beneath him two servants with upraised sticks attempt to drive away a pair of beggars, one kneeling and the other supporting himself with a cane. Needless to say, no such incident is related by the author, but the two

<sup>173</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 865A.<sup>174</sup> Cf. the crowing cock in Paris gr. 74, fol. 159<sup>r</sup> (Omont, *Evangelies avec peintures byzantines*, pl. 136).<sup>175</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 865C.

beggars are reminiscent of those in the illustration of the second chapter (Fig. 181).

FOL. 163<sup>r</sup>

A second miniature appears on the following page (Fig. 197). Here a man gives alms to the two beggars seen in the preceding picture, while another, carrying two bundles as evidence of his prosperity, looks back at them without offering to share his goods.<sup>176</sup> The text passage commencing immediately above the scene reads: "The charitable one and the avaricious one have met each other."<sup>177</sup>

CHAP. XVII: FOL. 164<sup>r</sup>

"Poverty" is represented by a bearded monk, seated, and wearing a loose garment which leaves his right shoulder uncovered (Fig. 198). His indigent state is further emphasized by his being barefoot. He is attended by two angels, one of whom holds a staff and puts a wreath on the man's head; the other, standing behind the seated figure, reaches forward and places a scepter, in the form of a cross-staff, in his hand. Both angels have the nimbus.

The wreath worn by the monk, reminiscent as it is of the crown of sainthood, forms a parallel to the crown offered by Christ in certain miniatures of the heavenly ladder (cf. Fig. 66). In this instance, the specific motivation is supplied by the author's words: "The monk that is poor is ruler of the world,"<sup>178</sup> a passage that accounts for both crown and scepter.

CHAP. XVIII: FOL. 166<sup>v</sup>

An unusual scene serves to illustrate "insensibility" (Fig. 199). A table is seen laden with food and vessels, as if prepared for a meal; a kettle stands on a tripod at its foot. Nearby is a monk, reaching out with one hand for food while holding the other to his cheek. He turns his head and seems to contemplate the four vignettes at the left. At the top, and extending over the gold ground to the right, is a cluster of trees and plants, beneath them four heads lying on the ground, then five fleshless skulls, and finally five more skulls with worms crawling over them. These extraordinary details are taken from the Last Judgment, as may be seen by comparing them with that subject as represented in Paris gr. 74 (Fig. 295). Here the foliage which surrounds the blessed in Paradise may be taken to explain the trees in the upper section of our illustration; and here too, among the horrors of Hell, are depicted the severed heads and the skulls.

<sup>176</sup> Kondakov unaccountably interprets this scene as a laborer giving alms in the form of grain (*Histoire de l'art byzantin*, II, p. 135).

<sup>177</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 924D.

<sup>178</sup> *ibid.*, col. 928C.

In a passage of the text, already quoted in connection with the illustration of this chapter in Vat. gr. 394, the author writes: "I have seen many such persons who had heard about and wept over death and the awful judgments, and who with the tears still in their eyes went studiously to the table. And I marveled how [gluttony] was able to overcome even grief."<sup>179</sup> The miniature, it will be seen, is a literal illustration of these words<sup>180</sup>—much more literal, indeed, than the picture in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 111), which in part follows the same text passage.

CHAP. XIX: FOL. 170<sup>r</sup>

The title illustration of this chapter, "on sleep, prayer, and psalm-singing," appropriately deals with these activities among monks (Fig. 200). One brother lies asleep on a bed at the left, while a black, winged sprite hovers over him, demons being numbered amongst the causes of sleep by the author. At the right another monk is seated before a reading-stand on which rests a book, and is evidently singing psalms. Behind him an angel, seen only in half-length, places a wreath on his head. A third monk, his legs concealed by a ground-line, is seen above, striking the *semantron*<sup>181</sup> to call the brethren to prayer. The miniature, in keeping with the title of the homily, thus represents the three acts of sleeping, praying, and singing psalms.

Once again, as in the illustration of "poverty" (Fig. 198), the theme is that of the crowning of the monk. The brother who is rewarded for his piety by an angel is contrasted to the sleeping monk who is visited by a demon.

CHAP. XX: FOL. 172<sup>r</sup>

"Wakefulness" is illustrated (Fig. 201) by six monks making obeisance to Christ, who stands on a footstool in their midst, holding a book and blessing. His nimbus is cruciform. Four of the monks lift up their arms, one reads (or sings psalms) from a book placed on a lectern, and another kneels at Christ's feet. Compositionally, the scene resembles that on fol. 79<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 185) except that here the Lord is shown in full length. After describing those who wait upon the kings of the earth, the author continues: "Now let us see how we [monks] wait upon our God and King. . . . Some pass the night as if incorporeal, and, divested of all care, extend their hands in prayer. Some, again, carry out these devotions by singing psalms. Others persevere instead

<sup>179</sup> *ibid.*, col. 933A-B.

<sup>180</sup> Without the text, the scene would be difficult to interpret. Thus Kondakov (*op.cit.*, II, p. 135) thought to see in it a banquet offered by a rich man, all of whose guests "perish of the plague around the table."

<sup>181</sup> The *semantron*—a long wooden sounding board struck with a hammer—is pierced at either end by three holes. The instrument is still in use on Mt. Athos (cf. Archimandrite Parthenios Iviritis, *Δεύκωμα Ἀγίου Ὁρους Ἀθῶν*, 1928, II, *Μοναχοί*, pl. 2).

by reading Scripture."<sup>182</sup> The monks are thus conceived of as paying continual homage by their devotions. These and other methods of vigilance are illustrated in a series of miniatures in Vat. gr. 394 (Figs. 113-114).

Like the Virgin on fol. 79<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 185), the figure of the Lord suggests a possible derivation from a gospel frontispiece. Very similar, for example, is the full-page miniature of Christ in Sinai gr. 204, a gospel lectionary of the tenth century.<sup>183</sup>

CHAP. XXI: FOL. 175<sup>r</sup>

The illustration of "timidity" (Fig. 202) merely shows two aged monks, one seated on a slender chair and the other on a cushioned bench. The one on the left, tormented by a small flying demon (now largely erased), lifts his hands and averts his face as if in fear. The second monk, who is elevated above his fellow, speaks to him and offers encouragement in his fight against the demon of timidity.

CHAP. XXII: FOL. 177<sup>r</sup>

The picture of "vainglory" takes an unexpected form (Fig. 203). On a bed carried on the shoulders of two men there lies a figure with folded arms, evidently in death. Three sorrowing women, their hands veiled under their mantles, follow at its foot. The procession is headed by a group of men carrying candles, and a bearded, white-robed priest, who holds a censer with a long handle. Another censer is borne by the foremost marcher. This scene, which may appear to be a curious representation of vainglory, is inspired by a passage in the text in which the author expresses the vanity of funeral pomp: "Be watchful and thou wilt find this unholy thing [vainglory] flourishing up to the tomb in raiment, ointments, processions, scents, and the like."<sup>184</sup> The miniature follows the traditional rendering of a funeral procession, as may be seen by comparing it with that of St. Caesarius in Paris gr. 510.<sup>185</sup> It is very revealing of the monastic outlook that even this pious ceremony should be condemned as vain show.

CHAP. XXIII, PART I: FOL. 184<sup>v</sup>

To illustrate "pride" (Fig. 204), the miniaturist has represented, at the right, a bearded man standing near a building with arms thrust out boastfully. Another figure, bowing slightly, looks up in prayer to Christ, whose head and shoulders are seen above. In these two figures, it is plain, the op-

<sup>182</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 940C.

<sup>183</sup> N. Kondakov, *Puteshestvie na Sinai v 1881 godu*, Odessa, 1882, Album, pl. 32.

<sup>184</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 949B. Cf. also the scholium on this passage (*ibid.*, col. 957C, no. 4).

<sup>185</sup> Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pl. xxiii.



posed qualities of pride and humility are personified. In the accompanying homily John Climacus imagines Vainglory and Pride as saying to him: "In one thing only have we no power to act. . . . If thou dost sincerely confess thy faults before God."<sup>186</sup> The praying figure may be understood as exemplifying this very act.

It is obvious that the scene was suggested by the parable of the Pharisee and the publican (Luke 18: 10-14), which is indeed alluded to in the text of the chapter.<sup>187</sup> The subject is represented, for example, in Paris gr. 74 (fol. 148<sup>r</sup>),<sup>188</sup> where the boastful attitude of the Pharisee is almost identical to that of the proud man in the Sinai miniature; the publican, on the other hand, looks meekly to earth, in accordance with the gospel statement that he "would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven." Our illustrator, it may be concluded, has modified the usual iconography by making this figure actually look up to Christ, in order that the scene might better conform to its new context.

CHAP. XXIII, PART 2: FOL. 189<sup>v</sup>

The second portion of the chapter, which deals with "blasphemy," shows a scene of even more narrative character (Fig. 205). At the left, holding the host in his hand, a white-robed priest stands before a draped altar, behind which rises the ciborium. A man clad in a simple long tunic motions with his hand toward the wafer. In a second episode, the same person kneels and embraces the feet of an aged monk seated at the right, who places his hand on the kneeling one's shoulder and seems to comfort him. A later inscription above the monk identifies him (no doubt erroneously) as the author: *ιω(άννης) ὁ τ(ῆ)ς κλήμακο(ς)*.

In the course of his discussion, John Climacus observes that blasphemy "is wont to slander the Lord during the holy services themselves, and even at the awful hour of the mysteries."<sup>189</sup> This passage clarifies the meaning of the scene at the altar, where a man is shown blaspheming the eucharist. But the succeeding episode has still to be accounted for. This in turn has to do with another passage altogether. The author relates a story<sup>190</sup> concerning a monk who suffered so acutely from blasphemous thoughts that he wrote down his temptations and took the paper to a venerable elder, before whom he fell prostrate. The old man read it and agreed to take all the brother's woes upon his own shoulders, whereupon all temptation vanished from the afflicted one. Except that the paper is not shown, the scene at the right answers perfectly to this description. The artist has ingeniously brought to-

<sup>186</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 969D. <sup>187</sup> *ibid.*, col. 965C.

<sup>188</sup> Omont, *Evangelies avec peintures byzantines*, pl. 128, no. 1.

<sup>189</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 976C. <sup>190</sup> *ibid.*, col. 980A-B.

gether two distinct episodes to create a single illustration of blasphemy and repentance.

CHAP. XXIV: FOL. 193<sup>v</sup>

The space usually reserved within the head-piece for an illustration is here occupied by the title, "Concerning Meekness, Simplicity, Guilelessness, and Wickedness" (Fig. 206). The miniature, thus displaced, appears in the left margin. An aged monk, holding a staff on which he rests his chin, sits before his cell and appears not to observe three agitated youths below. One of these, at the lower left, carries a loaded sack over his shoulder and seems to run away. Behind him another, with arms outstretched, strides in the opposite direction. A third holds before the monk what is apparently a cloak, or some other article of apparel. The scene is reminiscent, in its genre details, of the picture on fol. 113<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 188); like the latter, moreover, its significance is hard to grasp. It is probable, however, that each of the figures typifies one of the four qualities named in the title, as the activities of "sleep, prayer, and psalm-singing" are set forth in another miniature (Fig. 200). "Meekness" is presumably represented by the monk, and "simplicity" by the man discarding a rich garment. The figure, possibly a thief, who runs away with the sack may be taken to typify "wickedness," and the youth near him, whose action suggests alarm over his companion's deed, "guilelessness."

CHAP. XXV: FOL. 197<sup>v</sup>

The illustration of "humility" is likewise a marginal miniature (Fig. 207). Here a monk, his upraised arm holding a stick, administers a beating to a brother who stands with folded arms meekly receiving his blows. The incident has of course been invented by the artist as a demonstration of humility in the face of severe provocation.

CHAP. XXVI, PART I: FOL. 211<sup>r</sup>

The twenty-sixth homily, "on discretion," opens with an illustration framed once more within the head-piece (Fig. 208). At the left a monk reclines in a half-sitting posture on a bed, at the foot of which another stands motionless, his hands folded before him. A third monk lifts his arms to Christ, who appears in half-length above, holding his hand over the praying one's head. Since "discretion" can hardly be represented in the same graphic fashion as "slander" (Fig. 190) or "avarice" (Fig. 196), it is probable that the scene illustrates some anecdote told in the text. In one passage John Climacus describes how bodily illness may be turned to spiritual advantage: "I saw those lying sick, who on their very bed were comforted by divine

action or by compunction, and who drove out their pain by prayer. . . . And I returned and saw the suffering ones cured of a passion of the soul by their illness, as if by some punishment. And I glorified [God]."<sup>191</sup> The miniature may thus be interpreted as showing, on the left, one of "those lying sick"; in the center, a monk cured of his illness; and, at the right, a third monk giving thanks to the Lord.

It is perhaps not mere coincidence that the scene bears some resemblance to the Prayer of Hezekiah in the Paris Psalter (Bibl. Nat., cod. gr. 139, fol. 446<sup>v</sup>).<sup>192</sup> Here the sick king Hezekiah lies upon his bed, his restless attitude, with one knee drawn up, being strikingly similar to that of the reclining monk in the Sinai miniature; on the opposite side, now restored to health, he stands in prayer, like the monk at the right; even the figure of the prophet Nathan corresponds to the standing monk in the center. It is conceivable that our illustrator has taken his compositional scheme from the picture of Hezekiah in a psalter, without, of course, retaining any of its original significance. Such adaptations are not unknown in Byzantine art: Weitzmann has pointed out how the scene of Christ reading from Isaiah in the Vatican Menologium derives compositionally from the Mission of the Apostles in an illustrated lectionary.<sup>193</sup>

CHAP. XXVI, PART 2: FOL. 231<sup>v</sup>

At the left of this scene (Fig. 209) David is represented praying to the arc of heaven. In front of the psalmist, who wears a jeweled crown and a chlamys adorned with the tablion, are gathered five monks in various attitudes of entreaty; one of them is seated on a stool at the right. The juxtaposition of David and the monks is to be explained by the first words of the text directly below: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so is the perception of the divine and blessed will yearned after by monks."<sup>194</sup> This sentence, the first part of which is taken from Psalm 41:2, is illustrated by the picture of a stag in both Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 122) and the Princeton manuscript (Fig. 57). The praying figure of the psalmist recalls numerous illustrations of this sort in the monastic psalters, in which David similarly addresses the arc of heaven; an example is found on fol. 64<sup>v</sup> of the Theodore Psalter.

CHAP. XXVI, PART 3: FOL. 248<sup>r</sup>

The third and final portion of the chapter, with its summing up of earlier precepts, is appropriately headed by a picture of John Climacus reading

<sup>191</sup> *ibid.*, cols. 1017D-1020A.

<sup>192</sup> Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pl. XIV.

<sup>193</sup> K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, Princeton, 1947, pp. 180f., figs. 189-190.

<sup>194</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 1056D.

from his work to an attentive audience of densely grouped brethren (Fig. 210). The author, his hood drawn over his head, sits upon a low stool and lays his right hand on the opened book, which is supported on a lectern.

CHAP. XXVII, PART I: FOL. 254<sup>r</sup>

The title illustration of "solitude" (Fig. 211) shows three modes of eremitical existence. At the left is a hermit peering from the window of his tiny cell. The second figure is a stylite elevated on his column, near the base of which grows a slender tree. The third is a seated anchorite, clad in a garment of woven straw, and raising his hand as if in speech. The stylite (of whom no mention is made by the author) is closely paralleled by the image of Simeon Stylites in the Vatican Menologium of Basil II,<sup>195</sup> where, as in our miniature, only the head and shoulders are visible. The saint also wears a cowl and raises his arms in prayer; even the protective railing is shown around the top of the column. A portrait of Simeon or of some other column-saint must have been employed by our miniaturist as typifying one form of ascetic solitude.

CHAP. XXVII, PART 2: FOL. 259<sup>r</sup>

The second illustration of this chapter (Fig. 212) likewise presents a stylite. But here the column-dweller appears within a little hut, with two doors or shutters and a pointed roof. At the foot of the veined marble column on which this shelter is elevated three monks bow and humbly address themselves to the solitary. At the right another monk is seated, absorbed in weaving a basket, the bottom of which he supports in his left hand; above his head is seen a completed basket. For the stylite's hut (which it would seem many of these saints actually employed)<sup>196</sup> we must seek a parallel not in illustrated menologia, but in the monastic psalters, where such shelters are a common feature in the images of column-dwellers.<sup>197</sup>

In their general meaning, if not in detail, this and the preceding miniature are comparable to the illustrations of the same chapter in the Princeton Climax (Figs. 60-61). In both manuscripts there are scenes of manual labor (carving spoons and weaving baskets) and of hermits secluding themselves from their fellows (the stylites and the inhabitants of the stone towers). Such themes, none of which is specifically mentioned by the author, must have been accepted in Byzantine art as exemplifying the solitary existence.

<sup>195</sup> *Il Menologio di Basilio II*, pl. 2.

<sup>196</sup> Cf. H. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites*, Paris-Brussels, 1923, pp. clv ff.

<sup>197</sup> Cf., for example, the miniatures on fols. 3<sup>r</sup>, 16<sup>r</sup>, and 26<sup>v</sup> of the Theodore Psalter in London, showing the stylites Simeon, Alypius, and Daniel.

The illustration of "prayer" (Fig. 213) presents no difficulty. Standing before a baldachin in the center of the scene, a monk reads from a book placed on a lectern, while around him six others pray in various ways. Two kneel humbly at the left. Near them another stands with uplifted hands, as does the figure at the extreme right. Two more are seated, as if in inward meditation. On either side of the canopy are two icons, one bearing the likeness of the Virgin Mary and the other that of Christ. The group of figures at the right, comprising the monk standing at the lectern and the others sitting on the bench behind him, is closely matched by a vignette on fol. 95<sup>v</sup> of Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 114, above), which, however, is employed to illustrate another chapter.

Particular interest attaches to this scene, because it represents what is evidently the interior of a church. The canopy is of course the ciborium over the altar, like that on fol. 189<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 205); and the images of Christ and the Virgin are the inner pair of the four icons on the iconostasis. The outer pair, representing John the Baptist and the titular saint of the church, have been omitted.

In the illustration of "tranquillity" (Fig. 214), a monk stands with his hands held before him in prayer. Close beside him is an angel holding a scroll; a second angel, flying above, and seen only from the waist, places a crown on his head. The miniature thus resembles others in this manuscript (Figs. 198 and 200) in which monastic piety and humility are likewise rewarded with a crown. At the right are two young men in secular garments, and two women in even richer apparel, wearing large white headdresses. Two diminutive demons, almost effaced, are shown darting toward the latter pair. An ornamental motif of two birds flanking a vase, similar to that on fol. 94<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 186), is seen in the upper margin. Doubtless the inspiration for the scene came from the words at the close of the chapter: "Blessed tranquillity raiseth up the needy mind from earth to heaven, and lifteth up the poor man out of the dunghill of his passions; but ever-praiseworthy charity doth set him with princes, holy angels, even with the princes of the people of the Lord."<sup>198</sup> The monk and the angels are thus easily accounted for, the former typifying the "poor man" who has been exalted. But if the scene is indeed based on this passage—and no other seems possible—then the persons at the right must be interpreted as "the princes of the people of the Lord." Their splendid court dress and pious gestures (two pray in exactly

<sup>198</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 1152C.

the same fashion as the monk) prove this to be correct. The demons, however, which even intrude into the border, are not original: they must have been added at a later time by some monkish reader to whom female figures could only signify evil.

CHAP. XXX: FOL. 283<sup>r</sup>

"Faith, hope, and charity" are the subjects of the last chapter. These three virtues are shown in personified form in the accompanying miniature (Fig. 215). Charity, as the senior of the three, wears a crown and imperial robes, and holds a globe on which is a two-armed cross; she sits upon an ornate lyre-backed throne, over which her wings are outspread.<sup>199</sup> The bust of Christ, with hands open and extended to the sides, appears immediately above her head. Both figures are enclosed within a great circular mandorla. Faith and Hope, who are also winged, stand on either side; each wears a belted tunic with short sleeves and a skirt reaching to the ankles, and a fillet about the hair. On the right, three rays are directed from heaven toward the head of Faith, whose arms are crossed on her breast. Hope, on the opposite side, holds up her hands in prayer. All figures have the nimbus, that of the Lord being cruciform. The appearance of Christ above the person of Charity stems from the Biblical text, "God is love" (I John 4: 16), a phrase quoted by John Climacus.<sup>200</sup>

THE HOMILY TO THE PASTOR: FOL. 290<sup>r</sup>

This short treatise is illustrated in the same fashion as the chapters of the *Heavenly Ladder* proper. Within the head-piece (Fig. 216) is seen John Climacus, with a nimbus, sitting enthroned in the midst of six monks and expounding to them from an open scroll held in his left hand. As a scene of instruction the miniature is reminiscent of many such examples in Vat. gr. 394. A second illustration in the upper margin represents the Deesis: the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist make supplication to Christ, who holds a book in his left hand and blesses with the other. All three wear the nimbus and are shown only in half-figure.

In the opening words of his homily, the author addresses John of Raithu: "In this book below, O wondrous father, I have put thee last of all; but in that book above I believe that thou wilt precede us all in the divine census."<sup>201</sup> These words perfectly explain the double illustration. In both scenes, it will be observed, a book is prominently displayed; and the Deesis, a com-

<sup>199</sup> Kondakov's statement (*Histoire de l'art byzantin*, II, p. 135), that the scene represents Holy Wisdom on the table of the sanctuary, is of course totally wide of the mark, and can only be the result of a cursory examination.

<sup>200</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 1156A. The word is ἀγάπη, translatable either as "charity" or "love."

<sup>201</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1165A.



position frequently incorporated in the Last Judgment, is appropriate as illustrating the "divine census." The placing of one picture above the other serves further to emphasize the distinction between earthly and heavenly realms.

The illustrations of Sinai gr. 418 constitute a cycle quite independent of those described above. The allegorical elements so prominent in Vat. gr. 394 are almost entirely lacking, a conspicuous exception being the personifications of Faith, Hope, and Charity (Fig. 215); even this scene, however, bears no relation to the Vatican cycle. The painter of the Sinai miniatures endeavors, whenever possible, to present a concrete enactment of the virtue or vice in question. For this reason the cycle as a whole most nearly resembles that of the Princeton Climax, which is characterized by a similar spirit of literalism. At times, indeed, the illustrations are remarkably alike in conception, as in the miniatures of "sorrow" (Figs. 187 and 37), "slander" (Figs. 190 and 40), and "talkativeness and silence" (Figs. 191 and 41). The two manuscripts likewise concur in placing the author portrait at the head of the first chapter. But such coincidences do not imply a direct connection between the two, since they occur mostly in subjects that we should naturally expect to find illustrated in this fashion. It is a question only of a kindred spirit of illustration, not of the influence of one cycle on the other.

Where external sources are concerned, the predominant influence in Sinai gr. 418 is that of New Testament iconography. There is good reason to believe that the miniaturist had access to an illustrated gospel book or lectionary. The dedication scene (Fig. 175), the orant Virgin (Fig. 185), and the standing Christ on fol. 172<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 201) are very probably adaptations of gospel frontispieces. The Deesis (Fig. 216) may have been derived from the same source, since this composition is likewise known as a gospel frontispiece.<sup>202</sup> For the miniature of "pride" (Fig. 204) the parable of the Pharisee and the publican has been used as model. There are, in addition, the elements borrowed from the Last Judgment on fol. 166<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 199) and from Peter's Denial on fol. 135<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 194).

It was concluded of certain miniatures in both the Vatican and Princeton manuscripts that they must stem from a lost cycle of hermit-scenes. Whether the same is true of the Sinai Climax is open to question. Something of this nature is evoked by the illustrations of "solitude" (Figs. 211-212), especially by the figure weaving baskets; but, on the other hand, parallels have been noted for the stylites in menologia and monastic psalters.

There is nothing in the cycle of Sinai gr. 418 to suggest that it antedates those of the two other principal Climax manuscripts. The incorporation of

<sup>202</sup> E.g., in codex 3 of the Patriarchal Library in Istanbul (G. A. Sotiriou, *Κεφάλαια τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου*, Athens, 1937, pl. 54, no. 1).

details from the Last Judgment in the miniature on fol. 166<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 199) is in itself strongly indicative of a date within the mid-Byzantine period, and recalls the similar use made of that subject in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 73). The genre-like character of many illustrations finds analogies in the Princeton Climax, a fact that points to a common time of origin for both cycles. Another reliable index of date is found in the personifications of Faith and Hope on fol. 283<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 215), which are surely to be associated with the middle Byzantine period; their costume, it may be observed, is virtually identical to that worn by the personifications seen in such profusion in Vat. gr. 394 (cf. Fig. 99). We are brought to the same conclusion already reached with respect to the Princeton and Vatican manuscripts—that the pictorial cycle of Sinai gr. 418 is not older than the eleventh century.

#### 4. *Coislin 263*

Another example of Climax illustration is provided by a manuscript in Paris (Bibl. Nat., Coislin 263), which is dated 1059, and which, though not of the highest quality, contains an impressive number of decorations. The text has been disarranged, especially throughout the first third of the volume; the illustrations will be described here in what must have been the original order. In style, the work has a provincial appearance; there are indications, moreover, that the book was produced in an eastern province (see the discussion in the Catalogue, No. 16).

The best miniatures are the four full-page illustrations with which the book opens. The first of these (Fig. 217) shows two ladders, each of fifteen numbered rungs, placed diagonally so as to meet at the top. Above is the arc of heaven, in which appears the half-figure of Christ, making the sign of benediction and holding a book. Three monks stand upright on the left ladder. On the other, one monk is climbing, while a second, almost obliterated, slips and falls down head foremost. The monks wear yellowish tunics and light brown mantles, and the figure of the Lord, in a violet-brown garment with a red stripe, is set within a light blue arc. The nimbus is gold, and the inscription *ι(ησοϋ)ς χ(ριστο)ς* is in red. Numerous later scribblings have disfigured the page.

In the placing of the ladders the miniature resembles somewhat the illustrated table of contents in Patmos 122 (Fig. 236). But the climbing monks prove that the artist had in mind the more usual picture of the heavenly ladder, as seen, for example, in Stauronikita 50 (Fig. 133). The provincial character of the work is further indicated by the illogical system of numbering: the ladder on the left comprises the rungs from 1 to 15, and that on the right, numbers 16 to 30. The more reasonable solution would, of course,

have been to number them alternately from one side to the other, as in the Patmos Climax.

Two adjoining full pages (fols. 8<sup>r</sup> and 9<sup>r</sup>) are devoted to the exchange of letters between the abbots.<sup>203</sup> On the left page (Fig. 219) sits the abbot of Raithu, handing a scroll to a messenger. Two monks stand at the side. The inscription flanking the principal figure identifies him as Ο ΟΥ(ΙΟ)Υ Κ(ΑΙ) ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΗ) Ο ΚΑΘΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΘΟΥ (the blessed St. John, abbot of Raithu). The opposite miniature (Fig. 220) is nearly a reversed replica. Here John Climacus, oddly pictured as a middle-aged man with dark hair, is seated, receiving the letter from the messenger. The two monks at the right have been almost entirely effaced. The inscription reads: Ο ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΗ(Η) ΕΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΟΡΕΙ ΜΟΝΑΧΩΝ ΚΑΘΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ (St. John, abbot of the monks on Mount Sinai). The colors of the monk's garments are the same as those in the opening miniature. No other Climax manuscript gives such prominence to this relatively unimportant scene; here it has been elaborated into two monumental frontispieces to serve as a double author portrait.

A fourth full-page miniature (Fig. 218) offers a near-replica of that on fol. 8<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 217). The two ladders are again arranged so as to form an inverted V, but the figure of Christ is lacking in the arc of heaven at the summit. On the left ladder stand two figures, one of whom, like the lower half of the ladder itself, is so badly rubbed as to be hardly visible. On the right there are likewise two climbing monks. A third monk (almost totally effaced) has fallen off, his body extending horizontally toward the center; a later hand has added the word *κενοδοξία* above him, so as to explain that vain-glory brought about his collapse. The miniature is less accomplished than the first scene, and is evidently an imitation of it.

The first table of contents fills two adjoining leaves (fols. 10<sup>r</sup> and 11<sup>r</sup>), the left side of each page bearing an ornamented, schematic ladder.

The title of the work proper appears on fol. 7<sup>r</sup>, and is worded: *πρόλογος τοῦ λόγου οὗ ἡ ἐπονυμία (sic) πλάκ(ες) πνευματικαί*<sup>204</sup> (prologue of the work, which is called the "spiritual tablets"). The last two words are enclosed, appropriately, each within a red rectangle, so as to resemble to some degree the illustration of the tablets in the Princeton Climax (Fig. 32).

The illustrations of individual chapters are for the most part merely drawings of ladders, the number of rungs of each conforming to that of the chapter concerned. Subsidiary marginal illustrations or figured initials are occasionally introduced. The system may be described as a very simplified version of the successive ladder pictures in Vat. gr. 394, without implying, of course, that there is any connection between the two recensions.

<sup>203</sup> The text of the letters appears on fols. 4<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>204</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXVIII, col. 632A.

Thus, chapter I is designated by a ladder having a single rung (Fig. 221), and so the sequence continues, a rung being added with each succeeding homily. But from the fifth chapter onward the illustrator seems to have lost count, most of the ladders thereafter being too short by one step. The fourteenth homily, for example, can show only thirteen rungs (Fig. 224). Nine chapters are without any ladder picture whatsoever,<sup>205</sup> and a ladder of only two rungs (but inscribed with the proper numeral) is made to serve for chapter XXIX (Fig. 223).

Few of the marginal illustrations and figured initials reveal any precise connection with the text. Above the single-runged ladder of the first chapter (Fig. 221) is an initial T, formed by a man in pale green tunic and red leggings, balancing a *semantron* on his head and holding a red hammer; except for the fact that the *semantron* signifies the call to worship in monastic communities, the figure appears to have no other meaning than that of approximating the shape of the letter. Chapter IV, "on obedience," offers a miniature in a pitifully crude style (Fig. 222), which shows two monks standing before a third seated at the left. It may not be merely fortuitous that this miniature resembles somewhat the illustration of the same chapter in the Princeton manuscript (Fig. 35). The fourteenth chapter, "on gluttony," is illustrated by an amusing vignette (Fig. 224); this appropriately represents a seated monk gorging himself, with a goblet held in his outstretched hand. Chapter XXIX, "on tranquillity," has a marginal miniature of an orant monk (Fig. 223). It is drawn in brown ink, the tunic being a dull yellow and the mantle violet; the chief contours have been heavily re-traced in black. The final chapter (fol. 144<sup>v</sup>) is accompanied by the similar figure of a standing monk with his left arm upraised. Another monk, holding a book and a cross, forms the marginal illustration of the *Homily to the Pastor* (fol. 147<sup>v</sup>). On fol. 158<sup>r</sup>, a second table of contents, in reverse order, is decorated by a red ladder placed vertically at the left side.

Even including the more effective frontispiece miniatures, the figure decoration of Coislin 263 is too scanty to constitute a full cycle of illustrations. The most coherent element of the decoration is the sequence of ladders, the rungs of which are increased in step with the chapters themselves, though even here the system has not been followed consistently, nearly a third of the titles being without an accompanying ladder picture. There are, nevertheless, features that reveal some acquaintance with other Climax manuscripts: despite their unconventional character, the two miniatures of monks scaling diagonally placed ladders (Figs. 217 and 218) are the earliest dated examples of this iconography that we possess. Moreover, the very importance

<sup>205</sup> Chapters XX, XXII to XXVIII inclusive, and XXX.

given to the introductory miniatures, and the provision of ladder pictures for the various chapters, suggest that the Coislin Climax may be a drastically simplified copy of a fuller cycle, the illustrations of which have been reduced to marginal vignettes and initials, or, in some instances, omitted altogether. The model may even have been a Constantinopolitan manuscript.

In this connection it is to be noted that Coislin 263 was commissioned by one Eustathius Boilas, who, as his title "protospatharius" indicates, was an officer of the imperial court, and who may have given directions for its illustration, from his knowledge of manuscripts produced in Constantinople. We know from his testament, which is recorded in this manuscript, that he possessed a considerable library, and that this included two copies of the *Heavenly Ladder*.<sup>206</sup> In any event, the most significant fact concerning Coislin 263 must be that by the middle of the eleventh century the custom of providing extensive illustrations to the Climax was already so firmly entrenched that it should be reflected in a provincial manuscript.

#### 5. *Vat. Rossianus 251*

This manuscript does not contain a cycle of illustrations in the proper sense, for its miniatures are placed only at the beginning and end of the *Heavenly Ladder*, and not throughout the body of the text. But since the work itself raises several problems of interest it seems best to treat it independently.

Throughout the Rossianus manuscript there is observable a marked discrepancy between the miniatures on the one hand, and the text and ornament on the other. Whereas the former are executed in broad washes, the initials and decorative strips, drawn in red ink and lightly colored, are essentially linear in character. This may be seen on fol. 2<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 226), where the miniature contrasts sharply with the head-piece and initial A. On other folios (Figs. 230 and 232) the picture simply does not fit the ornamental band, being either too long or too short. The maladjustment of text and illustrations stands out most clearly, however, in the two tables of contents (Figs. 228-229, and 233-234); here the ladders with the climbing angels have been inserted in the narrow space in a very cramped fashion. The same is true of fol. 5<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 227), where the last line of text is overrun by the miniature below. The possibility therefore suggests itself that pictures and text are not contemporary.

If so, it must be assumed that the book was completed as to text and ornament, but that the miniatures were not at once added as planned. The situation is not without parallel, as we know from the Job manuscript of the

<sup>206</sup> The testament was published in full by V. Beneshevich in *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosviēshcheniia*, ix, 1907, Classical Philology, pp. 226f.

Patmos library (codex 171), in which only the first portion of the text is illustrated by miniatures of the same date; at intervals throughout the remainder there are empty spaces left by the scribe, some of which were filled with pictures at a later time in an effort to complete the interrupted pictorial cycle.<sup>207</sup> Analysis of the Rossianus Climax leads to the conclusion that the text was written in a provincial center during the eleventh century, but that the miniatures were added only in the twelfth (see the Catalogue, No. 25).

The first miniature, which is badly rubbed (Fig. 225), illustrates the sending of the letter from John of Raithu to the author. The artist has used the original ornamented head-piece as a base for his picture. At the left sits the abbot of Raithu, handing a scroll to John Climacus, who stands opposite. Both abbots wear the nimbus, and are identified by inscriptions along the top:  $\delta \theta\sigma(\iota\sigma) \iota\omega(\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\eta\varsigma) \delta [\tau\eta\varsigma ?] \rho\acute{\alpha}\iota\theta(\omicron\upsilon)$ , and  $\delta \iota\omega(\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\eta\varsigma) \dots$  (the rest illegible). John of Raithu has white hair, but that of Climacus is dark. The background is blue and the ground-strip green; the garments are of two shades of brown, the darker being used for the mantles.

A similar miniature serves to represent the author's reply (Fig. 226). John Climacus is seated at the left, writing on a scroll unfolded across his knees. In the margin beside him are the words:  $\iota\omega(\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\eta\varsigma) (\mu\omicron\nu)\alpha\chi(\delta\varsigma) \delta \tau\omicron\upsilon \sigma\iota\nu\acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}(\phi\omega\nu)$  (the monk John of Sinai replying). In front of him stands John of Raithu with hands extended. As before, both figures have the nimbus. The curious feature, however, is that the relative ages of the two are here reversed: John Climacus now has white hair, and John of Raithu has dark. What has happened, obviously, is that for both miniatures the illustrator has merely adapted a composition showing an elderly writer delivering his letter to a younger messenger, without troubling to adjust their appearance to the demands of the Climax text. The nimbus alone suffices to transform the messenger into the recipient of the letter.

At the end of the anonymous introduction to the treatise, the artist has inserted an unexpected miniature combining Jacob's dream and his struggle with the angel (Fig. 227).<sup>208</sup> An inscription at the upper right reads:  $\eta \pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha \tau\omicron\upsilon \iota\alpha\kappa\acute{\omega}\beta$  (Jacob's struggle). (The word  $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha$  can also be seen, painted over, in the lower left portion of the miniature itself, below the legs of the reclining Jacob; it was perhaps placed there as a guide to the

<sup>207</sup> Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pp. 49ff.

<sup>208</sup> The same two subjects also appear in a single miniature in Paris gr. 510 (Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pl. xxxvii). An amusing interpretation of the Rossianus picture may be quoted here: "... Jakob liegt schlafend auf dem Boden, ein Engel trägt sein Gegenbild, seinen Geist, zum Himmel" (E. Gollob, "Die griechische Literatur in den Handschriften der Rossiana in Wien," *Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, CLXIV, 1910, Abhandlung 3, p. 30).



miniaturist.) Curiously enough, no attempt has been made to transform the Biblical scene into an illustration of the heavenly ladder of St. John: even the unusual miniature in Sinai gr. 423 (Fig. 23), where Jacob is also represented, includes the monks on the ladder. In the Rossianus miniature the sleeping Jacob, wearing a knee-length garment, lies in the center of the foreground; the ladder and the angels of his dream are represented twice. The scheme approximates the rendering of the vision in the Octateuchs (Fig. 294). Jacob's posture is not identical; the angels are shown as ascending only; and an additional segment of heaven has been placed above each ladder to accommodate the bust-portrait of Christ. But the derivation of the scene directly from the Biblical illustration is nonetheless evident.

The second element in the miniature—Jacob wrestling with the angel—is likewise based on the tradition of Septuagint illustration. In Vat. gr. 747 (fol. 55<sup>r</sup>), for example, the angel grasps Jacob's thigh in much the same manner, though in other respects the two grappling figures are quite different.

The entire illustration finds some justification in the text, which, as we have seen, is rich in allusions to Jacob's ladder. A passage in the preface (on the same folio as the miniature) reads as follows: "It was this ladder, I believe, that Jacob . . . beheld while resting on his ascetic bed."<sup>209</sup> In choosing to follow the text literally, the illustrator reveals his ignorance of the scene of the heavenly ladder. The inclusion of the struggle with the angel is likewise not impossible to account for. At the close of his work John Climacus mentions the "struggle and vision" of Jacob,<sup>210</sup> which may have served to link the two episodes in the mind of the artist. The idea of struggle runs throughout the book, usually with reference to combats against demons,<sup>211</sup> and the word *παλαίστρα* is used by Daniel of Raithu to describe the author's life as an anchorite.<sup>212</sup> But, whatever the explanation, the miniature does not conform to the method of illustration in any other Climax manuscript.

The colors of the picture, which are typical of other scenes in the manuscript, may be briefly indicated. The blue background is uneven in color, the streaked brushwork standing out clearly. The foreground is yellow-green and dark green. The sleeping Jacob wears a light blue tunic, reddish brown leggings, and white boots; in the episode above he is clothed in a violet tunic and blue mantle. The garments of the angels are of various combinations of blue, green, violet, and rose, and their black wings are tipped with red and white. Christ's garments are violet and blue. All the figures have gold nimbi.

<sup>209</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXVIII, col. 628D. <sup>210</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1160C.

<sup>211</sup> E.g., *ibid.*, col. 712C. <sup>212</sup> *ibid.*, col. 597C.

The first table of contents is set forth on two pages. It reads from top to bottom, contrary to normal usage in illustrated tables of contents. Fol. 5<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 228) comprises the titles of chapters I to XVII, and fol. 6<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 229) those from XVIII to XXX. On each page there is a miniature of narrow format, awkwardly compressed between the text-column and the corresponding numbers at the left, and representing two angels ascending a ladder of nine rungs. The compositions are virtually reversed replicas, and are obviously derived from the preceding miniature of Jacob's vision, where even the system of folds in the garments can be duplicated. Here again the iconography is unique. The inscription, ἡ θεία κλίμαξ, is spread over both pages, along the top.

The *Vita* by Daniel of Raithu is headed by a standing portrait of the author (Fig. 230). John Climacus lifts his hands in prayer toward the hand of God issuing from a segment of heaven, which, like the saint's nimbus, breaks the upper edge of the picture. The inscription reads: ὁ ὁσιος ἰω(άννης) ὁ σιναΐου (?) ἡγούμε(ενος) (St. John, abbot of Sinai). A later hand has scrawled some writing on either side of the figure.

The *Vita* is followed by a miniature entitled πλάκες πν(ευματ)ικαί (spiritual tablets) (Fig. 231). It has already been noted that the term "spiritual tablets" is an alternative title of the *Heavenly Ladder*. In the Princeton manuscript (Fig. 32) their representation as marble plaques is derived from the tables of the law given to Moses, the new Christian connotation being established by the cross at the right. In the Rossianus miniature the same end has been achieved by quite different means. The tablets each bear the likeness of Christ, and are superimposed on a blue field, beneath which there is a green strip of ground, as in other miniatures. The left panel represents a white fabric with an embroidered diaper pattern in red and with fringed edges at top and bottom. The one on the right shows the same pattern, now white on red, and is without a fringe. The nimbus of Christ in each panel is gold, the arms of the cross being outlined in white and red. Scarcely visible beneath the blue overpainting between the two rectangles is a third head of Christ, apparently a preliminary sketch in outline.

Beyond any doubt the miniature is to be connected with the legend of the miraculous image of the Saviour, "not made by hands" (εἰκὼν ἀχειροποίητος). According to this story, which has been exhaustively studied by Dobschütz,<sup>213</sup> Christ sent to Abgar, king of Edessa, a cloth (μανδύλιον) bearing the imprint of his countenance. During his journey the messenger concealed the cloth behind a tile (κεράμιον), which was then found to have received the impression of the divine likeness. A mandylion and a keramion purporting to

<sup>213</sup> E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder; Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*, Leipzig, 1899, pp. 102ff.

be the authentic images were translated amid great ceremony to Constantinople in the tenth century,<sup>214</sup> where they remained until the sack of the Byzantine capital in 1204. These are obviously the images represented in our miniature: the mandylion appears on the left, and the reddish plaque at the right, bearing the same pattern and the head of Christ in mirror reversal, but lacking the fringes, is the keramion. The preliminary sketch beneath the painting would seem to indicate that the illustrator at first intended to represent the mandylion alone, and only later decided to include both images.

Grabar's researches<sup>215</sup> have shown that the Abgar legend was first illustrated in Byzantine menologia of the eleventh century, not long after the translation of the mandylion to the capital. The fullest pictorial cycle is that contained in a roll in the Morgan Library in New York (MS 499), of the fourteenth century.<sup>216</sup> In such manuscripts the sacred image is only summarily depicted, the emphasis being placed on the narrative context. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the mandylion also began to appear as an isolated image in wall-painting, frequently in conjunction with the keramion. It is with this tradition, which is undoubtedly Constantinopolitan in origin, and which is reflected in countless icons and mural paintings in Greece, Russia, and the Balkans, that we must connect the Rossianus miniature. The mandylion, in particular, may be compared to the "Holy Face" of Laon, an icon of Slavic provenance, dated by Grabar in the late twelfth or thirteenth century.<sup>217</sup> The similarity of the fringe and the trellis pattern of the two images is especially marked. But unlike the usual representations of the mandylion and keramion, in which the face and hair alone are shown,<sup>218</sup> the Rossianus miniature includes the neck beneath the head of Christ. This is not a unique instance, however; an identical mandylion, likewise showing the neck, appears in an eleventh-century menologium in the Patriarchal Library in Alexandria.<sup>219</sup>

It is apparent that the miniaturist has taken some liberty in replacing the spiritual tablets by the sacred images, for which he can have found no direct motivation in the text of John Climacus. We may recall, however, that the author says of his work that it has been traced on "clean and spot-

<sup>214</sup> The mandylion in 944 (*ibid.*, pp. 149ff.), and the keramion in 968 (*ibid.*, pp. 172ff.).

<sup>215</sup> A. Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon; le mandylion dans l'art orthodoxe*, Prague, 1931, pp. 22ff.

<sup>216</sup> S. Der Nersessian, "La légende d'Abgar d'après un rouleau illustré de la Bibliothèque Pierpont Morgan à New York," *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare*, x, 1936, pp. 98ff., figs. 37-39.

<sup>217</sup> Grabar, *op.cit.*, pp. 14ff., pl. I.

<sup>218</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 33f. The author derives the mandylion from the apotropaic masks of antiquity.

<sup>219</sup> Codex 35 (T. D. Moschonas, *Κατάλογοι τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης*, I, *Χειρόγραφα*, Alexandria, 1945, pp. 51-54).

less hearts, as if on sheets of paper, or rather on spiritual tablets.”<sup>220</sup> Here he obviously paraphrases the words of Paul: “Ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ, ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart.” The apostle continues: “But if the ministration of death, written and engraven in stones, was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not stedfastly behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance; which glory was to be done away: how shall not the ministration of the spirit be rather glorious?” (II Corinthians 3: 3, 7-8.) In this passage, which any churchman would have recognized as the source of Climacus’ words, mention is made both of the “face of Moses” and of the greater glory of the Christian ministration. Possibly it also inspired the artist to depict the images of Christ as a demonstration of the superseding of the Mosaic law.

Of the individual chapters of the treatise only the first is provided with an illustration (Fig. 232). This shows the author holding a staff and addressing a group of monks. The inscription above reads: διδασκαλίας τοῦ ὁσ(ίου) ἰω(άννου) τοῦ σιναιῆτος πρὸς τοὺς (μον)αχ(ούς) (the teachings of St. John the Sinaite to the monks). The picture is merely a scene of instruction, without reference to the content of the chapter. The remaining twenty-nine homilies are without pictorial decoration, except for the original ornamental bands at the head of each.<sup>221</sup>

The *Heavenly Ladder* concludes with a second table of contents, again divided over two adjoining pages. The two miniatures (Figs. 233 and 234) are almost identical to those of the first table (Figs. 228 and 229). The order of titles is now reversed, the first page containing numbers xxx to xviii, and the second xvii to i; both are read from bottom to top.

To illustrate the *Homily to the Pastor* (Fig. 235) the artist has repeated the composition on fol. 13<sup>r</sup>, showing the monks undergoing instruction (cf. Fig. 232). The marginal inscription at the left reads: ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ ὁσ(ιος) ἰω(άννης) (St. John, the pastor); and that at the right: οἱ μοναχοὶ τ(ῆ)ς μον(αχῆ)ς (the monks of the monastery). The “pastor” must represent John of Raithu.

We may now attempt, as far as possible, to reconstruct the original plan of illustrations. From the spacing of the text on the pages concerned, it may be assumed that the following portions of the book were meant to be preceded by miniatures: John of Raithu’s letter (Fig. 225); the author’s reply (Fig. 226); the anonymous preface (fol. 4<sup>v</sup>); the *Vita* of St. John (Fig. 230); the first chapter (Fig. 232); and the *Homily to the Pastor* (Fig. 235). It is likewise clear that no pictures were intended for individual chapters. The

<sup>220</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, cols. 632D-633A.

<sup>221</sup> Cf., for example, the head-piece of chapter v, reproduced in C. Osieczkowska, “Note sur le Rossianus 251 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane,” *Byzantion*, ix, 1934, pl. xxi.

illustrations originally planned, if they had been executed, would probably have been purely conventional scenes of the author writing or speaking, and, in one instance, of John of Raithu dispatching his letter. For the two tables of contents we may further conjecture that what was intended was a simple, schematic form of ladder, set vertically within the narrow space, with the rungs corresponding to the numbered titles; this, it may be noted, is precisely the scheme employed for the table of contents in Coislin 263 (fol. 158<sup>r</sup>). None of these projected illustrations was carried out; for some reason, the entire plan was abandoned. Only later were miniatures painted in the spaces left for that purpose.

This hiatus, amounting perhaps to a century, accounts for some of the peculiarities of the illustrations. In part, these later miniatures no doubt approximate the intended iconography. Examples are the scenes of the author praying and teaching (Figs. 230, 232, and 235), which are of course familiar types in many manuscripts. In several instances the illustrator found himself in difficulty through inserting a miniature where none was intended. On fol. 5<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 227) he has conceived an involved scene comprising both Jacob's dream and his struggle with the angel. In the original scheme this space was no doubt meant to be left blank, since the table of contents on the next page had to begin on a fresh leaf. The same observation can be made of the spiritual tablets (Fig. 231), where again a miniature has been invented to fill a space meant to be left unoccupied. On the other hand, an empty space on fol. 4<sup>v</sup> (clearly designed for a miniature at the head of the preface) was not utilized by the illustrator.

What is chiefly remarkable is that the illustrations of Vat. Ross. 251 are almost totally unrelated to other Climax cycles; they reveal no acquaintance even with the familiar scene of the heavenly ladder. Their unique character has a twofold explanation: first, the artist's ignorance of the pictorial scheme intended for the manuscript, and, secondly, his attempt to create an independent cycle without any awareness of the usual iconography.

#### 6. *Vat. gr. 1754*

Under the signature codex gr. 1754, the Vatican library possesses a third important Climax manuscript, datable in the twelfth or early thirteenth century. The most interesting illustrations are those of a "penitential canon," which, however, since they are not concerned with the *Heavenly Ladder* proper, will be dealt with in a separate chapter. If Vat. gr. 1754 may be said to have a cycle of illustrations, this is to be found only in the vignettes of the table of contents; the miniatures in the text itself are few and scattered.



THE TABLE OF CONTENTS: FOL. I<sup>v</sup>

The first miniature (Fig. 237) shows two ladders, bent so as to resemble an arch, at the crown of which sits the figure of Christ, his arms outspread in a gesture of welcome. He wears gold garments and is enclosed within a golden mandorla. Between the rungs are thirty little scenes illustrating each chapter, arranged with the odd numbers on the left, and the even numbers on the right; the progression is from bottom to top. The miniature thus constitutes both a table of contents and a diminutive picture cycle.

An analogous, and more logical, scheme is offered by an eleventh-century Climax manuscript in the library of the monastery of Patmos (cod. 122) (Fig. 236), which has no other illustrations. Here the two ladders have straight sides, and each occupies a separate page. The individual vignettes, moreover, are accompanied by long inscriptions, whereas in the Vatican miniature only the numbers and titles of the chapters are given. Certain of these inscriptions are unfortunately not legible, owing to the ruinous condition of the parchment. The miniaturist of Vat. gr. 1754, in order to fit the composition into a single page, found it necessary to bend the two ladders at the apex; this had one advantage, in that it was necessary to represent Christ only once, instead of twice as in Patmos 122.

Unless otherwise noted, the description that follows is to be taken as referring to the scenes in the Vatican miniature. The illustration in Patmos 122, being virtually identical in iconography, will be mentioned only when it offers a slight variant or a readable inscription.

α'. *περὶ ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ ἀποταγῆς τοῦ βίου* (I. Concerning retirement and renunciation of life). The vignette is seen at the lower left corner. A figure clad in blue garments, with a nimbus (perhaps an angel), beckons to three persons and points upward to Christ. In the Patmos Climax this scene and its inscription have been almost totally effaced. Possibly the reference is to a passage in the first chapter reading: "But others yearn to strip off the impurity of the wretched body. Wherefore they have need of an angel . . . to give them aid."<sup>222</sup>

β'. *περὶ ἀπροσπαθείας* (II. Concerning dispassionateness). The scene (at the lower right) has been badly flaked, but a figure can be discerned with hands uplifted in prayer. In interpreting its significance we may be aided by the fact that a similar figure appears as a marginal illustration of the second chapter within the actual text of the manuscript (Fig. 244). The sentence to which this picture refers reads in part as follows: "He that truly loveth the Lord . . . is destitute and freed from care, and followeth Christ unhesitatingly; he looketh always unto heaven and receiveth aid from thence."<sup>223</sup>

<sup>222</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXVIII, col. 636A.

<sup>223</sup> *ibid.*, col. 653B-C.



γ'. ξενιτεία κ(αὶ) ἐνύπνια (III. Pilgrimage and dreams). The vignette is the second from the bottom on the left. A monk holding a staff sets out on his pilgrimage. Behind him lies a sleeping figure, an allusion to the dreams that come to novices. The inscription beside this scene in Patmos 122 reads, in part: ξενιτεύων ἀσφαλίζον τὸν γυρευτὴν καὶ φιλήδονα δαίμονα· ἡ γὰρ ξενιτεία ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ δίδωσι (Pilgrim, beware the wandering and pleasure-living demon; for pilgrimage giveth opportunity unto him). This is an excerpt from the chapter.<sup>224</sup>

δ'. ὑπακοή (IV. Obedience). A monk stands in prayer, while a blue-robed angel, wearing a nimbus, holds a wreath over his head.

ε'. μετάνοια (V. Penitence). Within a cell a monk sits grieving. In Patmos 122 the inscription begins: πε(ρὶ) μετανοίας μεμεριμνημένης κ(αὶ) ἐναργοῦς ἐν ἡ ἡ φυλακὴ θεάρεστος τῶν ἀγίων καταδίκων + (μον)αχ(ὸς) καθήμενος . . . (Concerning earnest and sincere penitence, in which is the prison, beloved of God, of the holy criminals. A monk seated . . .). From this it is clear that the picture represents one of the penitents in the monastic prison described in the fifth homily.

ς'. μνήμη θανάτου (VI. Remembrance of death). A monk stands sorrowing beside an open grave; behind him a tree grows on a hillock. The Patmos miniature differs only in showing many more trees. A not dissimilar theme forms the illustration of the sixth chapter in Sinai gr. 418 (Fig. 186), where a monk contemplates four bodies in a tomb.

ζ'. πένθος (VII. Sorrow). A monk wearing a small cylindrical cap sits in a chair holding an object before him. The inscription of the Patmos scene commences: (μον)αχ(ὸς) καθήμενος κ(αὶ) τὴν σειρὰν ἐργαζόμε(νος) κ(αὶ) τῷ χαροποιῶ πένθει καταβρέχων ἑαυτον. . . . This may be translated: "A monk seated, engaged in basket-weaving, and immersing himself in sorrow which bringeth joy. . . ." The object held by the monk is, therefore, a basket. There is no mention of basket-making in the text of the chapter. The figure must merely typify a familiar monastic occupation, like the monk making baskets in Sinai gr. 418 (Fig. 212).

η'. ἀοργησία (VIII. Placidity). A monk sits in a chair opposite a tree-covered hill. The inscription in Patmos 122 reads: μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν (Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth).

θ'. μνησικακία (IX. Malice). A seated monk reads from a book placed on a lectern. The Patmos inscription describes the scene as follows: (μον)αχ(ὸς) μνησικάκος ἀναγινώσκων· ὑπὸ μοναχοῦ λυπήσαντο(ς) αὐτὸν παρακαλούμενος εἰς διαλλαγὰς . . . (A malicious monk reading: When a monk grieveth him, he is urged to make reconciliation . . .). In part, this is a paraphrase of a passage in the

<sup>224</sup> *ibid.*, col. 664D.

chapter,<sup>225</sup> and the figure is presumably to be understood as reading the author's words.

ι'. καταλαλιά (x. Slander). A dark, winged demon stands between two seated monks. The explanatory inscription in the Patmos Climax is taken directly from the chapter: *εἴ τις καταλαλιάς πν(εύμ)α νικῆσαι βούλεται, μὴ τῷ πταίοντι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑποβάλλοντι δαίμονι τὴν μέμψιν ἐπιγραφέτω* (If anyone wisheth to overcome the spirit of slander, let him ascribe the blame, not to him that committeth the fault, but to the demon that doth prompt it).<sup>226</sup>

ια'. σιωπή (xi. Silence). A seated monk raises one hand and puts the other to his mouth in the familiar gesture of silence. The inscription in Patmos 122 actually describes this action: *(μον)αχ(ός) ἐντὸς καθήμενο(ς) τῇ μὲν μιᾷ χειρὶ τὸ στόμα κρατῶν, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν εἰς προσευχ(ήν) ἐκτείνων. λέγει· εἶπα φυλάξω τὰς ὁδοὺς μου τοῦ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν με ἐν γλώσση μου* (Within sitteth a monk, subduing his mouth with one hand and extending the other in prayer. He saith: I said, I will take heed to my ways, that I sin not with my tongue). The quotation from Psalm 38 which forms the latter part of the inscription appears in the text of the chapter.<sup>227</sup>

ιβ'. ψεύδος (xii. Falsehood). A monk sits in a cave, with one hand held across his breast. Here too the Patmos inscription merely describes the vignette: *(μον)αχ(ός) ἐν σπηλαίῳ καθήμενος. ἀναιδῶς ψεύδεται ὡς πέτρα τὸ οἰκέλον σκεπάσας πρόσωπον* (A monk sitting in a cave; he telleth lies shamelessly, and hath covered his face as with the rock).

ιγ'. ἀκηδία (xiii. Sloth). A monk sits before a table, and a demon takes aim at him with bow and arrow. The words beside this scene in Patmos 122 are taken from the chapter: *ἐν καιρῷ ἀκηδίας οἱ βιασταὶ φαίνονται· οὐδὲν γὰρ στεφάνους προξενεῖ ὡς ἀκηδία μοναχ(ῶ)* (In time of sloth the violent ones appear; for nothing doth so much furnish crowns to a monk as [struggling against] sloth).<sup>228</sup>

ιδ'. γαστριμαργία (xiv. Gluttony). This is a simple illustration of the vice in question. At a table laden with dishes a monk sits drinking from a cup; behind him is seen a kettle on an oven. The Patmos vignette shows many more vessels, and is furnished with an inscription which begins: *μοναχὲ γαστριμαργε, μὴ πλανῶ οὐ μὴ τοῦ φαραῶ ἐλευθερωθῆς, οὐδὲ τὸ πάσχ(α) θεάσῃ, εἰ μὴ ἄζυμα καὶ πικρίδ(ας) φάγῃς . . .* (O thou gluttonous monk, be not misled; thou shalt not be delivered from Pharaoh, nor behold the Resurrection, if thou dost not eat unleavened bread and bitter herbs . . .). The words are based on a passage in the text.<sup>229</sup>

ιε'. πορνεία (xv. Lust). A monk takes the hand of another kneeling before

<sup>225</sup> *ibid.*, col. 841C.

<sup>226</sup> *ibid.*, col. 845D.

<sup>227</sup> *ibid.*, col. 852C.

<sup>228</sup> *ibid.*, col. 860C.

<sup>229</sup> *ibid.*, col. 869A.

him, while a demon brandishes a bow and arrow.<sup>230</sup> The accompanying inscription in the Patmos Climax reads as follows: *θαρσεῖτε οἱ ἐμπαθεῖς καὶ τεταπεινωμένοι μοναχοὶ, εἰ γὰρ κ(αὶ) πάσαις ταῖς πάγαις τῆς ἁμαρτίας βροχισθεῖτε κ(αὶ) πέσητε. ἀλλὰ γε μετὰ τὴν ὑγείαν τοῖς πίπτουσι φωστήηρες κ(αὶ) ἰατροὶ γενήσεσθε* (Be of good cheer, you monks who are subject to passions and are humbled, even if you have been ensnared by all the toils of sin and have fallen. For after your recovery you shall be luminaries and physicians unto them that fall). These words, which apply so aptly to the subject of the fifteenth chapter, are actually based on a passage in the twenty-sixth.<sup>231</sup> The scene, moreover, bears some resemblance to the illustration of the latter chapter in the Princeton manuscript (Fig. 56).

ιζ'. *φιλαργυρία* (XVI. Avarice). A seated monk watches a body burning in a fire which is ignited by a ray from heaven. The Patmos inscription is not legible, except for the first words: *(μον)αχ(ὸς) φιλάργυρος* (an avaricious monk). The text of the chapter offers no explanation of the scene.

ιζ'. *ἀκτημοσύνη* (XVII. Poverty). The vignette merely shows a monk standing frontally in the attitude of an orant.

ιη'. *ἀναισθησία* (XVIII. Insensibility). A monk leaning on a staff watches another who lies on a bed. The scene perhaps illustrates a passage in the chapter where the author says of the insensible monk that "he maketh recitations concerning vigilance and straightway sinketh into sleep."<sup>232</sup>

ιθ'. *ἡ ἐν συνοδία ψαλμωδία* (XIX. Psalm-singing in community). The illustration shows three standing monks, two of whom raise their hands toward the arc of heaven, the third having his hands folded across his breast.

κ'. *διάφορος ἀγρυπνία* (XX. Excellent vigilance). At the left a monk sits writing before a little desk. Behind him stands a second monk, holding an open book, and with his hand extended over an open grave. Possibly they exemplify some of the methods of fending off sleep recommended by John Climacus: working with the hands, reading, and meditating on death.<sup>233</sup>

κα'. *δειλία* (XXI. Timidity). In a cave at the left of the scene sits a monk above whom a demon is flying; another monk holds up his hands before an angel at the right. The vignette in Patmos 122 is very similar, but shows two demons approaching the first monk. The scene was probably inspired by the following passage: "When an unseen spirit is near, the body is afraid; but when an angel standeth by, the soul of the humble rejoiceth."<sup>234</sup>

κβ'. *κενοδοξία* (XXII. Vainglory). A seated monk discourses to another standing humbly before him. At the right is a figure with arms folded, wear-

<sup>230</sup> Tikkanen describes the kneeling figure as a woman, which is clearly not true (J. J. Tikkanen, "Eine illustrierte Klimax-Handschrift," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, XIX, 1890, no. 2, p. 7).

<sup>231</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 1016B. <sup>232</sup> *ibid.*, col. 932C.

<sup>233</sup> *ibid.*, col. 940C. <sup>234</sup> *ibid.*, col. 948A.

ing a long blue tunic. This may represent the author teaching, but the significance of the figure behind him is not clear.

κγ'. ὑπερηφανία (XXIII. Pride). A monk seated within a cave is threatened by a demon armed with bow and arrow. The same weapon appears in two other scenes in this series: numbers 13 ("sloth") and 15 ("lust"). A demon with bow and arrow is also found in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 128).

κδ'. πραότης (XXIV. Meekness). A single monk stands with head bowed before the arc of heaven.

κε'. ταπεινοφροσύνη (XXV. Humility). A monk stands facing an angel dressed in blue and violet, who holds a gold labarum.

κς'. διάκρισις (XXVI. Discretion). The illustration shows three monks listening to an older brother who is seated at the right.

κζ'. ἡσυχία (XXVII. Solitude). A monk sits before a desk writing on a sheet of parchment held on his knee. In the Patmos miniature a building is seen behind the figure.

κη'. προσευχή (XXVIII. Prayer). A monk stands with hands upraised to the arc of heaven. The inscription in Patmos 122 reads: ἡ προσευχή τὸν θ(εὸ)ν ἔχει διδάσκαλον τὸν διδάσκον(τα) ἄν(θρωπ)ον γνῶσιν (Prayer hath God as her teacher, who teacheth man knowledge.) This is a quotation from the chapter in question.<sup>235</sup>

κθ'. ἀπάθεια (XXIX. Tranquillity). A monk and an angel stand facing each other; both hold a labarum, the angel grasping in his other hand a sleeved garment of bright red color. The scene is no doubt to be connected with the closing words of the homily: "Blessed tranquillity . . . lifteth up the poor man from the dunghill of his passions; but ever-praiseworthy charity doth make him to be seated with princes, holy angels, with the princes of the people of the Lord."<sup>236</sup> The labarum, originally a Roman military standard, became in Byzantine art an attribute of archangels.<sup>237</sup> The monk, having been made equal to the archangels, therefore carries the same emblem of rank. Very similar is the conception embodied in the illustration of this chapter in Sinai gr. 418 (Fig. 214).

λ'. ἀγάπη (XXX. Charity). The monk stands on the topmost step to receive a wreath from the hand of an angel. The inscription beside this scene in the Patmos Climax reads: μείζων πάντων ἡ ἀγάπη. [ἀγάπη] ἐστὶν ὁ θ(εὸ)ς (The greatest of these is charity. Charity is God).

In this series of thirty vignettes we encounter yet another independent Climax cycle, and not merely a variant of one of those already treated. Nor is it likely that it is an abbreviated version of some other cycle of pictures originally meant to be distributed throughout the text, but rather that its

<sup>235</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1140C. <sup>236</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1152C.

<sup>237</sup> The archangel Michael holds the labarum in a miniature of the Vatican Menologium (*Il Menologio di Basilio II*, pl. 168).

individual scenes, which frequently have only a tenuous connection with the theme of the chapter, were invented for this very arrangement. There can be little doubt, finally, that the illustrated table of contents was designed to occupy two adjoining pages, as in Patmos 122. The version in Vat. gr. 1754 must represent an attempt to adapt the composition to a single leaf.

Although it is of a different recension, this diminutive cycle is not without analogies to those considered above. The monk receiving a crown from an angel ("charity") recalls the representations of this episode in Sinai gr. 418 (Figs. 198, 200, and 214), and the several vignettes of hermits in caves are comparable to numerous miniatures in both the Princeton Climax and Vat. gr. 394. In the figure weaving a basket ("sorrow"), we are reminded of the anchorite engaged in the same occupation in the Sinai Climax (Fig. 212). Because it is conceived in much the same spirit as the principal recensions, it is probable that this cycle is likewise a creation of the eleventh century. There is certainly no reason to think that it is any earlier.

Whereas in Patmos 122 the table of contents forms the sole illustration of the Climax, Vat. gr. 1754 is provided with still other miniatures. To these we may now give our attention.

#### THE HEAVENLY LADDER: FOL. 2<sup>r</sup>

This familiar scene is displayed on a frontispiece (Fig. 238) adjoining the table of contents. On a gold ladder, which has only twenty-two rungs, five climbing figures are set upon by demons, some of them armed with long hooks. These have succeeded in dislodging three other monks, one of whom plummets into the dragon's jaws below. In the blue arc of heaven, Christ,<sup>238</sup> clad in gold, offers a crown to a monk who reaches upward. At the foot of the ladder a monk gathers up his tunic to begin the ascent; while he hesitates, with one finger to his brow, a demon tugs at the end of his scapular. John Climacus stands at the lower right, looking up and pointing to Christ at the summit. Three additional scenes fill the space at the left. The uppermost one shows the head of an anchorite within a little cave, a familiar motif in Climax illustration. The second, directly below, represents five monks kneeling on the ground in prayer. In the third scene several brethren are gathered in a compact group, from which protrude one arm and a fluttering mantle. The entire miniature has suffered considerably from flaking, some portions being almost without color.

#### THE AUTHOR PORTRAIT: FOL. 2<sup>v</sup>

This miniature (Fig. 239) is in even worse condition. The writing author, of a type conforming to the portraits in other manuscripts, sits in front of an architectural setting; he wears an orange tunic and a purple-brown

<sup>238</sup> Erroneously identified as an angel by Tikkanen (*op.cit.*, p. 9).

mantle. Above him a length of red and green drapery is hung over four columns so as to produce the effect of a canopy. On either side are two shuttered windows: in that at the left hangs a red curtain; the object within the other, now badly flaked, may have represented the head of a watching monk, a feature that recalls the author portrait in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 69). Since gold is used sparingly throughout the manuscript, the space above the architecture, in this and the next miniature, has been left blank.

FOL. 3<sup>r</sup>

A second portrait shows the author in full length (Fig. 240). St. John stands on a low pedestal, raising his right hand and displaying in his left an open scroll. On either side are grouped admiring monks of noticeably lesser dimensions. The author wears a yellow-brown tunic, olive-brown mantle, and dark blue scapular. The architectural background is blue-gray in color. This is a variant type of the teaching scene, with the author standing rather than enthroned.

The miniature is followed by an illustrated Penitential Canon (Figs. 246-277), to which, as has been noted earlier, it will be necessary to devote a separate chapter.

The remainder of Vat. gr. 1754 is only sparsely supplied with miniatures. These are in one sense superfluous, the cyclic illustration of the treatise being summarized, as it were, in the table of contents on fol. 1<sup>v</sup>. The letter from John of Raithu to John Climacus is preceded by an ornamental headpiece, and the initial  $\Gamma$  is formed of a standing monk with a nimbus and a minute half-figure of Christ blessing (Fig. 241). The monk is presumably St. John Climacus himself, and the little scene perhaps refers to his "God-given talent," of which John of Raithu speaks in his epistle.<sup>239</sup>

CHAP. I: FOL. 23<sup>r</sup>

The opening page of the first chapter contains five marginal miniatures illustrating a passage in which the author describes the various orders of rational creatures in their relation to God, ranging from those who are his friends to those who are his bitter enemies.<sup>240</sup> The friends of God, he says, are the "spiritual and incorporeal beings round about him." These are represented in the first vignette (Fig. 242) as two groups of angels, headed by two archangels wearing the imperial loros and supporting an orb with draped hands. The four remaining miniatures occupy the right margin of the same page (Fig. 243). That at the top shows a company of bishops and monks; these are the "true servants of God." Below them are five men whose high domed caps, long tunics, and sleeves decorated with patches show them to

<sup>239</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 624A.

<sup>240</sup> *ibid.*, col. 632A-B.



## INTERRELATIONSHIP OF THE CYCLES

be court officials.<sup>241</sup> The text identifies them as the "unprofitable servants," who have not kept their covenant with God. Next below are the unbelievers, who are classified as "estranged from God and hostile to him," and who are pictured wearing a paenula with a hood over the head. In gospel iconography this garment serves to distinguish the Pharisees.<sup>242</sup> The last miniature shows a group of persons about to attack two monks. The reference here is to the enemies of God, who not only depart from his commandments, but contend against those who keep them.

### CHAP. II: FOL. 29<sup>r</sup>

The second chapter, "on dispassionateness," has a single marginal miniature (Fig. 244). A half-nude, barefoot figure with a nimbus strides forward and reaches toward the arc of heaven, from which a ray is directed at him. The picture represents the "destitute" one, who "looketh always unto heaven."<sup>243</sup> A very similar figure, it was observed above, forms the illustration of this chapter in the table of contents on fol. 1<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 237).

### CHAP. VII: FOL. 71<sup>v</sup>

The next, and last, illustration (Fig. 245) appears beside the title of the seventh homily, which is on "sorrow." Here are seen six weeping monks, seated in two groups facing each other. Their faces and gestures are expressive of unrestrained remorse.

It is problematical whether the artist planned to provide marginal miniatures for each chapter and merely neglected to complete the series. Certainly there was to be no exact correspondence between these illustrations and those of the table of contents. Only in the case of the second chapter do the two series agree; in the first and seventh they are quite unrelated. It may be concluded, I think, that the few marginal miniatures were invented so as not to leave the text completely without illustration. The cyclic illustration of the treatise was already taken care of by the table of contents.

## B. THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF THE CYCLES

There are no fully illustrated Climax manuscripts dating earlier than the eleventh century. Previous to that time the treatise seems to have been furnished only with a diagrammatic ladder, as in Paris gr. 1069 (Fig. 5), and, occasionally, as in Sinai gr. 417, with a conventional author portrait (Fig. 1). Although the possibility cannot be excluded, there is not a shred

<sup>241</sup> Similar caps are worn by the three lay persons in the miniature of the ladder in Sinai gr. 418 (Fig. 179).

<sup>242</sup> E.g., Paris gr. 74, fol. 73<sup>v</sup> (Omont, *Evangelies avec peintures byzantines*, pl. 67, no. 1).

<sup>243</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 653B-C.

of evidence to suggest that there was any kind of cyclic illustration before the year 1000.<sup>244</sup>

From the eleventh century on, however, we are on surer ground. For the simple ladder-diagram there is now usually substituted the full-page composition of the climbing monks; and the author portrait takes on its characteristic form as a seated figure writing (cf. Chapter II *supra*). In certain manuscripts, moreover, the text is now illustrated in complete cyclic fashion with miniatures accompanying each chapter.

It is usually possible in mediaeval illumination to single out an archetype from which other copies stem. A case in point is supplied by the illustration of the Byzantine romance of Barlaam and Joasaph. This religious novel, which was derived from the life of Buddha, and which passed for centuries under the name of John of Damascus, enjoyed wide popularity and was known, like the Climax, in a host of languages. The Greek text was translated from the Georgian about the year 1000, and, as Sirarpie Der Nersessian demonstrates in her monograph,<sup>245</sup> was illustrated soon thereafter; this was also the time, as I believe, that the *Heavenly Ladder* was illustrated. But here the resemblance ceases. For despite its edifying purpose the text of Barlaam and Joasaph was recognized as being primarily a story, and the original cycle invented for it was therefore a narrative one, from which no copyist departed fundamentally. The illustration of the *Heavenly Ladder* presents a very different situation. Our investigation of the principal manuscripts has disclosed an astonishing lack of agreement in their pictorial recensions. Only two illustrations can be regarded as having general currency—the author portrait and the scene of the ladder. In the cyclic illustration of the text proper we encounter the most bewildering variety. As far as iconography is concerned, Vat. gr. 394 has little in common with the Princeton Climax, and neither shows any significant relationship to Sinai gr. 418. Despite a few similarities in detail, it is clear that we have to reckon, not with a single accepted tradition, but with three totally independent recensions.

The impressive cycle of Vat. gr. 394 stands out as the most distinctive. It is by far the most extensive, and contains the greatest proportion of original elements, its illustrations preserving an equal balance of allegorical and literal representation. And its influence, which must have been con-

<sup>244</sup> It is of course dangerous to argue *ex silentio*. That monastic literature was illustrated at least as early as the ninth century we know from the few miniatures of the *Apophthegmata patrum* in Paris gr. 923 (cf. J. R. Martin, "An Early Illustration of *The Sayings of the Fathers*," *Art Bulletin*, xxxii, 1950, pp. 291-295). But this is proved solely by the accident of their having been copied in another context; not a single illustrated Greek manuscript of the *Apophthegmata* has survived. Evidence may yet be found to show that the Climax was illustrated at a like early date.

<sup>245</sup> Der Nersessian, *L'illustration du roman de Barlaam et Joasaph*, p. 153.

siderable, is apparent not only in the abbreviated cycle of Stauronikita 50, but also, as will be shown below, in the illustrations of the "penitential canon" in Vat. gr. 1754 and other manuscripts.

If it were not for the existence of the Princeton codex it might be imagined that Vat. gr. 394 represents the authoritative tradition of Climax illustration in Constantinople of the eleventh century. The Princeton manuscript is in all likelihood a product of the Byzantine capital of approximately the same period, and can almost claim to rival the Vatican Climax in quality of style. Yet its illustrations reveal no awareness of the cycle of codex 394. This fact alone is sufficient to prove that the latter was not the sole accepted recension.

Still another cycle appears in Sinai gr. 418, the latest of the three chief manuscripts. It was probably not executed in Constantinople, but whether, as seems likely, it depends directly on a Constantinopolitan model, or whether it is an invention of provincial (Sinaitic?) origin, cannot be determined.

In the provincial illustrations of Coislin 263 and Rossianus 251 we have noted few points of resemblance to other cycles; the second is peculiar in not even showing the familiar scene of the heavenly ladder.

Of a totally different sort again is the minute cycle of Vat. gr. 1754 and Patmos 122, in which thirty scenes are compressed between the rungs of ladders so as to form an illustrated table of contents. This scheme, which is more remarkable for its ingenuity than its clarity, is obviously another, quite independent method of illustration.

We can merely say, then, that the surviving recensions were not derived from a single archetype, but evolved independently, and that in all probability they were not created before the eleventh century.

But the interrelationship of the cycles is not as negligible as it might first appear to be. In particular, there are two themes which, because they recur frequently, must be given further consideration.

One is the theme of the crowning of the monk. We have already seen that in certain miniatures of the heavenly ladder Christ offers a crown, or crowns, to the climbing monks (cf. Fig. 66). The same imagery is occasionally encountered even in the cyclic illustration of the text. Thus, in Vat. gr. 394, a monk receives a wreath from the personification of prayer (Fig. 128), and from Faith, Hope, and Charity (Fig. 131). Similarly, in the illustrated table of contents in Patmos 122 (Fig. 236) and Vat. gr. 1754 (Fig. 237) an angel presents a crown to the monk on both the fourth and thirtieth steps. But the cycle that gives most prominence to the theme is that of Sinai gr. 418, three miniatures of which show an angel crowning a monk (Figs. 198, 200, and 214). There can be no doubt that these examples are derived from repre-

sentations of the coronation of a saint. Implicit in all of them is the conviction that the rigorous discipline and self-denial of the monastic life are in themselves qualifications for sainthood—that he who forsakes the world is entitled to a crown. Paradoxically, it is the self-effacing virtues of humility, poverty, and the like that are rewarded with the emblem of rank and power.

The second recurrent theme is of a quite different kind. It has been observed that the larger cycles contain numerous scenes of the life of hermits, which are too specific in character to have been invented as generalized illustrations of the Climax. Thus, to cite one of the most striking instances, the miniatures of the spoon-carver in the Princeton Climax (Fig. 60) and Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 114) are not only unexplained by the text, but are even employed to illustrate different chapters in each manuscript. It is clear that they have been appropriated from another source—probably, as was suggested above, a whole cycle of scenes of the eremitical life.

The problem is further complicated by the reappearance of certain of these scenes in a group of late-Byzantine paintings of the Death of Ephraim Syrus. The best-known example of this subject, which contains a wealth of detail relating to the eremitical life, is the panel in the Vatican Gallery by the Greco-Italian painter Emmanuele Tzanfournari (Fig. 300).<sup>246</sup> On the right side of the icon, in the cave third from the top, there may be discerned the figure of a monk carving wooden spoons, an exact duplicate of the motif in the Princeton and Vatican Climax miniatures. Another feature to be noted is the group of aged hermits who are too feeble to walk (seen at the lower right of the stylite's column); one is borne on the back of a younger monk, and the second rides in a litter carried by two brethren. Figures precisely corresponding to these are to be found in a miniature of Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 82); here, it will be observed, the monk in the chair is crouched forward and the leading bearer turns his head to the rear in the same fashion as in the Ephraim painting. In the discussion of this miniature (p. 59), it was pointed out that the text of the *Heavenly Ladder* describes no such episodes.

The most convenient explanation would be of course to regard the Climax miniatures merely as fragments derived from the Death of Ephraim. This, unfortunately, is not tenable. The iconography of the Death of Ephraim, as I have elsewhere endeavored to show,<sup>247</sup> is not fully explained by any account of Ephraim's career; the picture is thus not an original conception, but a compilation of various pictorial elements. The core of the composition is the dormition of the saint with the mourners grouped about the bier; to this have been added numerous scenes from an illustrated cycle of Syrian

<sup>246</sup> A. Muñoz, *I quadri bizantini della Pinacoteca Vaticana*, Rome, 1928, p. 9, pl. 1.

<sup>247</sup> J. R. Martin, "The Death of Ephraim in Byzantine and Early Italian Painting," *Art Bulletin*, xxxiii, 1951, pp. 217-225.

hermits. The text for which these pictures were invented is unknown, but an indication of its nature is afforded by the *Religiosa historia* of Theodoret of Cyrrhus,<sup>248</sup> written in the fifth century, which describes comparable incidents in the lives of Syrian anchorites, many of whom dwelt in caves.<sup>249</sup> Selected scenes from this cycle, which must have seemed appropriate to a representation of Ephraim Syrus, were combined into a unified composition, the earliest example of which appears in the thirteenth century.

Many of the Climax miniatures, it is now evident, are borrowings from the same source. This lost cycle, doubtless a series of book illustrations, appears to have been the inspiration, not only for such specific motifs as the spoon-carver, but also for the representation of hermits as cave-dwellers. The terraced grottoes rising on either side in the Ephraim paintings (cf. Fig. 300) are strikingly reminiscent of scenes in the Climax manuscripts. In Vat. gr. 394 no fewer than twenty miniatures show monks in caves; the Princeton manuscript has eight; and there are examples in Sinai gr. 418 (Fig. 182) and in Vat. gr. 1754 (Figs. 237-238). To the same source are perhaps to be attributed the figures of the stylite and the basket-weaver in the Sinai Climax (Figs. 211-212). Both are found in the paintings of the Death of Ephraim (cf. Fig. 300); the stylite, in particular, suggests a Syrian locale.<sup>250</sup>

The birds and beasts seen in two miniatures of the Princeton Climax (Figs. 53 and 60) are perhaps likewise to be connected with this source. A fifteenth-century literary description of an icon of the Death of Ephraim makes particular mention of hares, partridges, a gazelle, a fox, a parrot, a pheasant, a duck, and a swan.<sup>251</sup> And a comparable assemblage of wild life actually appears in an Ephraim painting in the collection of R. Henniker-Heaton.<sup>252</sup> It may reasonably be concluded that such animals were present in the original cycle of hermit-scenes drawn upon by both the Climax miniaturist and the painter of the Death of Ephraim.

Another puzzling feature in the Princeton manuscript is the narrow, cylindrical structure, evidently an anchorite's dwelling, seen in three miniatures (Figs. 56, 60, and 61). Theodoret, in his account of the Syrian hermits,

<sup>248</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXII, cols. 1284-1496. Cf. Martin, *op.cit.*, pp. 221f.

<sup>249</sup> On this subject see A. Vööbus, "The Origin of Monasticism in Mesopotamia," *Church History*, xx, 1951, pp. 27-37.

<sup>250</sup> Theodoret's *Religiosa historia* includes a biography of Simeon Stylites, the first pillar-saint (Migne, *op.cit.*, cols. 1464D-1484C).

<sup>251</sup> C. L. Kayser (ed.), *Philostratei libri de gymnastica. Accedunt Marci Eugenici imagines et epistolae nondum editae*, Heidelberg, 1840, pp. 147f. Cf. A. Muñoz, "Le ἐκφράσεις nella letteratura bizantina e i loro rapporti con l'arte figurata," *Receuil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov*, Prague, 1926, pp. 139ff.

<sup>252</sup> Martin, *op.cit.*, fig. 3.

relates that some shut themselves up within walled enclosures of such confined dimensions that the occupant was forced to stand perpetually upright, receiving sustenance through a little window.<sup>253</sup> This serves to reinforce our conclusion that the source from which these scenes are derived is to be associated with Syrian monasticism.

There is reason to believe that the same hermit-cycle is reflected in one of the manuscripts of the romance of Barlaam and Joasaph referred to above. Paris gr. 1128, of the fourteenth century, contains extensive illustrations, not only of the narrative portions of the text, but also of the theological passages. Among the latter are several scenes of hermits in the desert,<sup>254</sup> who are shown as living in caves, precisely as in the Climax miniatures and in the Ephraim paintings. Especially worthy of note is the miniature on fol. 64<sup>v</sup>,<sup>255</sup> in which Barlaam tells Joasaph of the life of monks and anchorites (Fig. 301); on the left side are shown the activities of monks living in community, and on the right, scenes of hermits in the desert. The latter is pictured as a rocky landscape in which are four caves, each containing a single figure. In the cavern at the upper right is a solitary engaged in some occupation, perhaps basket-weaving or spoon-carving. And on the hilltop in the upper center there stands a round structure with a shuttered window through which a recluse holds forth his arms. This is undeniably another of the curious structures seen in the Princeton Climax (cf. Figs. 56, 60, and 61). The wording of the text of Barlaam and Joasaph<sup>256</sup> is too generalized to account for the details in this composition, which must accordingly, as Der Nersessian observes,<sup>257</sup> be an enrichment of the original cycle. We may recognize in the miniature the identical process of accumulation of individual cave-scenes that has been pointed out in the Ephraim paintings. It is hardly to be doubted that they stem from the same source.

We have seen that some of the Climax miniatures are borrowings from a lost cycle illustrating the life of Syrian anchorites. This same source, which must have served to Byzantine artists as a repertory of typical ascetic scenes, was likewise drawn upon at a later date by the painter of the Death of Ephraim and by the illustrator of the Paris codex of Barlaam and Joasaph. In the isolation of this cycle as a distinct unit in Byzantine art, the miniatures in the Princeton and Vatican Climax manuscripts take on a double significance: first, they permit us to visualize the component episodes of the series in their original form as individual book illustrations; and, secondly, they prove that the cycle itself can be no later than the eleventh century.

<sup>253</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, cols. 1425C, 1453B, 1413D-1416A.

<sup>254</sup> Der Nersessian, *op.cit.*, pls. LXVII, nos. 263-265, and LXXIII, no. 290.

<sup>255</sup> *ibid.*, pl. LXVII, no. 265.

<sup>256</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, xcvi, cols. 965C-969A.

<sup>257</sup> Der Nersessian, *op.cit.*, p. 50.



#### INTERRELATIONSHIP OF THE CYCLES

Where and when did this enigmatic cycle originate? Several possibilities come to mind, none of them capable of proof. It is possible that the archetype was created at an early date in Syria, since the events depicted seem to show connections with that region, and that it was later copied by Byzantine artists. On the other hand, the whole cycle may have been invented in Constantinople, perhaps even in the eleventh century, when reflections of it first appear in the Climax manuscripts. But here it must be emphasized that we are dealing with *disjecta membra*: the original cycle is lost to us. The question of place and date of origin is therefore best left unanswered. What is important for our immediate purpose is that the illustrators of the Climax made use of existing scenes glorifying the eremitical life.

#### IV. THE PENITENTIAL CANON

A SEPARATE category of Climax illustration is furnished by a penitential canon, composed in honor of the "holy criminals" whose virtuous deeds are described at length in the fifth chapter of the *Heavenly Ladder*. It is distinct from, but nevertheless closely related to, the illustration of the text proper, with which it is usually incorporated. The chief copy of this remarkable hymn is contained in Vat. gr. 1754, some of the miniatures of which have already been discussed. The Canon, which follows the traditional form ascribed to Andrew of Crete (about A.D. 700),<sup>1</sup> has eight odes (properly nine, but the second is customarily omitted), each in a different meter. Each ode comprises three verses, or *troparia*, and a fourth verse (*theotokion*) relating to the Virgin Mary, making a total in all of thirty-two verses. Each of these occupies a single page, and is accompanied by a short descriptive text (taken for the most part from passages in the fifth chapter) and an illustration, all enclosed within an ornamental border.

Since the complete Penitential Canon has not, to my knowledge, been published, a transcription of the text is given here as it appears in Vat. gr. 1754. The Canon commences immediately after the standing portrait of the author (Fig. 240).

Fol. 3<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 246). The title is written in gold: Καν(ὼν) κατανυκτικὸ(ς) τ(ῆν) ἱστο(ρίαν) διαλαμβάν(ων) τ(ῶν) ἐν τῇ κλίμακι ἁγίων καταδίκ(ων). οὗ ἡ ἀκροστιχ(ὴς), πένθ(ους) ἐναργοῦς καὶ μετανοίας τύπο(ς). This may be translated: "Penitential canon, containing the story of the holy criminals in the Ladder, of which the acrostic is: a model of sincere sorrow and penitence." In accordance with liturgical usage, the thirty-two-letter acrostic, which is itself based on the words of John Climacus,<sup>2</sup> determines the initial letters of the verses of the Canon. Then follow certain directions: ᾠδ(ῆ) α'. ἡχ(ος) π(λάγιος) δ': ὑγρὰν διοδεύσ(ας), signifying that the first ode is in the fourth plagal mode,<sup>3</sup> and that it is to be sung to the melody used for a typical verse in a canon of John Damascene, which opens with the words ὑγρὰν διοδεύσας.<sup>4</sup>

The first verse reads:

Πάντες οἱ γνησίαν καὶ ἐκ ψυχῆς  
καὶ δεκτὴν κ(υρί)ω

<sup>1</sup> On the structure of the canon, cf. E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, Oxford, 1949, pp. 168ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Let the . . . holy criminals be unto you the rule, model, pattern, and image of penitence" (Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXVIII, col. 780D).

<sup>3</sup> For the eight modes of Byzantine music, see Wellesz, *op.cit.*, pp. 247ff.

<sup>4</sup> The typical verses (*hirmoi*) are arranged according to the eight modes in the *Hirmologium*. Cf. S. Eustratiades, *Εἰρμολόγιον*, Chennevières-sur-Marne, 1932. The verse in question appears on p. 220.

# THE PENITENTIAL CANON

ἐκζητοῦν(τες) ἐπιστροφὴν  
 δεῦτε καὶ μιμήσασθε προθύμ(ως).  
 ἰδοὺ γὰρ πρόκειται τύπος σ(ωτή)ριος.

(All ye who seek a true, soul-felt, and acceptable return unto the Lord, come and imitate eagerly. For lo! here is set forth a model which bringeth salvation.)

The verse is followed by a brief prose description of the scene: 'Ο ἅγιος Ἰω(άννης) ὁ τῆς κλίμακος· πάντας τοὺς βουλομένους, προτρέπ(ων) εἰς μετάνοιαν· καὶ ὑφηγούμενο(s) τὰ τ(ῶν) ἁγίων καταδίκων. (St. John Climacus exhorting unto penitence all who are willing, and guiding the ways of the holy criminals.)

The author, wearing a nimbus and holding a staff, addresses a dense crowd of penitent monks, whose expressions denote pain and misery. St. John is clad in a gray-brown mantle and yellowish tunic; the garments of the monks, which are unusually vivid, include violet, orange-brown, and blue-green hues. The ground line is olive-green.

Fol. 4<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 247). The second verse reads:

Ἑστράφη εἰς πένθ(ος) ἡ χαρμονή·  
 ὑπνώσαμ(εν) ὑπν(ον)  
 οἱ ταλαίπωροι τὸν βαρύν·  
 νῦν οὖν γρηγορήσωμεν συντόμως·  
 καὶ μετανοί(ας) καρποὺς ἐνδειξώμεθα.

(Joy is turned into sorrow. We wretched ones have slept a deep sleep. Now therefore let us immediately be wakeful and shew forth the fruits of penitence.)

Then follows the description: Οὗτοι παννύχιοι μέχρι πρωῆας ἱστάμενοι αἶθριοι, τοὺς πόδας ἔχοντες ἀκινήτους· καὶ τῷ ὑπνῷ κατακλόμενοι, καὶ μὴ δὲ μίαν ἄνεσιν ἑαυτοῖς χαριζόμενοι· μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν κ(αὶ) ἑαντ(οὺς) ἐπιπλήττοντες ἀτιμίαις. (These stand in the cold all night long until dawn, never moving their feet. They are overcome by sleep, but grant themselves not the slightest rest. Rather do they upbraid themselves with reproaches.)

The picture shows a number of monks huddled together against the cold, and one standing apart and leaning on his staff. The description is based on a passage in the fifth chapter which tells of this incident.<sup>5</sup> It will be recalled that the Climax cycle of Vat. gr. 394 includes an extensive series of pictures of the penitents in the monastic prison. The miniature on fol. 41<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 83) illustrates the sentence in question; here the scene is set in a cave, with only four figures present, one of whom folds his arms before him like the central figure in codex 1754.

<sup>5</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 765A.

Fol. 4<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 248). The verse reads:

Νυγέντας τῷ βέλει τοῦ πονηροῦ·  
 ἐξ ἀπροσεξίας  
 καὶ ἐγγίσαντας τῇ φθορᾷ·  
 καὶ τοῦ σοῦ προσώπου μακρυνθέντας,  
 μὴ ὑπερίδῃς ἡμᾶς πολνέλεε.

(Pierced by the arrow of the evil one, drawing nigh unto destruction out of heedlessness, and far removed from thy face, neglect us not, O most merciful one.)

Οὔτοι εἰς οὐ(ρα)νὸν ἐλεεινῶς ἀπενίζουσι· καὶ τὴν ἐκείθεν βοήθ(ειαν), μετὰ θρήνων ἐπικαλοῦνται. (These gaze pitifully unto heaven, and cry for aid from thence with wailing.)

The monks stand with arms uplifted toward the arc of heaven, from which the hand of God comes forth to bless them. The passage on which the description is based<sup>6</sup> is illustrated in Vat. gr. 394 in simpler fashion by six monks only (Fig. 84, upper scene).

Fol. 5<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 249). The final verse of the first ode is a *theotokion*, taking the form of an address by the Virgin to Christ:

Θεὲ καὶ υἱέ μου καὶ πλαστοργέ·  
 πρόσχες τῇ κακώσει  
 τῶν ἀθλίων σου ἱκετῶν·  
 ἦν ὡς ἀμαρτήσαντες ἀφρόνως·  
 νῦν ἐαυτ(οὺς) νουνεχῶς κατεδίκασαν.

(My God and Son and Creator, pay heed unto the distress of thy wretched suppliants. As they foolishly became sinful, so now, having understanding, have they condemned themselves.)

Οὔτοι ὀπισθεν ἐαυτῶν τὰς χεῖρας ὡς κατάδικοι δῆσαντες, ἐν προσευχῇ ἵστανται· κλίνοντες τὰς ἐαυτῶν ὄψεις εἰς γῆν· καὶ ἀναξίους ἐαυτοὺς λογιζόμενοι τῆς πρὸς τὰ ἄνω νεύσεως· καὶ οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν τί χάριν εὐχῆς τολμῶντες· ὑπὲρ ᾧν ἡ Θ(εοτό)κος ποιεῖται δέησιν. (These, with their hands tied behind them like criminals, stand in prayer, inclining their eyes toward the ground; for they consider themselves unworthy to look upward. They do not dare to say anything on account of prayer. The Mother of God maketh entreaty for them.)

The penitents, whose hands are indeed bound behind their backs, writhe in contorted postures. The Virgin, Μ(ΗΤ)ΗΡ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ, stands on a gold footstool at the right, praying to the hand of the Lord which issues from a segment of heaven. She wears a purple mantle over a blue tunic; the face has been crudely redrawn. The original passage in the Climax<sup>7</sup> is illustrated in codex

<sup>6</sup> *loc.cit.*

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, col. 765A-B.

394 (Fig. 84, lower scene). Here the composition is symmetrical, the monks numbering only four. There is of course no mention of the Virgin in the text of the chapter, her presence being required only by the *theotokion* of the Canon.

*Fol. 5<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 250)*. Since the second ode is customarily sung only during Lent, it is omitted in this, as in most canons; but the odes are nevertheless numbered as if the second were included. Hence the inscription: the third ode, ϖδ(η) γ. This is to be sung according to the melody of John of Damascus' canon, the third ode of which commences οὐ(ρα)νίας ἀψίδος.<sup>8</sup>

Οἱ στολὴν ἀφθαρσίας  
καὶ φωτεινὸν ἔνδυμα  
ἐκ Θ(εο)ῦ τὸ πρὶν εἰληφότες·  
φεῦ οἷοις πάθεισι  
κατηχρειώθημεν·  
διὸ σποδὸν τε καὶ σάκκον·  
ἐαυτοῖς οἱ τάλανες  
νῦν ὑποστρώσωμεν.

(Ah, with what passions are we afflicted, who of old received from God a garment of immortality and a shining raiment! Wherefore let us wretched ones now spread ashes and sackcloth beneath us.)

Οὗτοι ἐπ' ἐδάφους· σάκκον καὶ σποδὸν ἐαυτοῖς ὑποστρώσαντες, κάθονται κλαίοντες· καὶ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ περιπαθῶς δεόμενοι. (These, having spread sackcloth and ashes on the ground beneath them, sit weeping and passionately yearning after God.)<sup>9</sup>

The faces of the seated monks are contorted with grief and despair, creating an effect of pathos such as is rarely encountered in Byzantine art.

*Fol. 12<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 251)*. The leaves of the Canon have been incorrectly bound, comparison with other manuscripts revealing that fol. 12 ought to follow fol. 5. That this is the proper sequence is confirmed by the letters of the acrostic. The *troparion* reads:

Ἐπὸ τῆς ἐπηρείας  
τοῦ νοητοῦ δράκοντο(ς)·  
καὶ τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀφροσύνης  
ἀπενεκρώθημεν·  
διὸ καὶ τύπτοντες  
ἀδιαλείπτως τὰ στήθη,  
τὴν ζωὴν ζητήσωμεν  
ἣν ἀπωλέσαμεν.

<sup>8</sup> Eustratiades, *loc.cit.* Vat. gr. 1754 reads ἀψίδος.

<sup>9</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 765B.

(By the abuse of the dragon of the mind and by our own folly have we been slain. Wherefore even by ceaselessly smiting our breasts let us seek the life which we have lost.)

Οὗτοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν στήθη διηνεκῶς τύπτοντες, τὴν ἑαυτ(ῶν) ψυχὴν καὶ ζωὴν ἀνακαλοῦνται.  
(These continually smite their breasts, and so save their soul and life.)

Seven monks vigorously perform this act of penance. The picture may be compared with the illustration of the original passage<sup>10</sup> in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 85, second scene), in which the individual gestures, though not the composition, are similar.

*Fol. 12<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 252).*

Συσχεθέντες ἀλόγοις  
καὶ βλαβεροῖς πάθεσιν·  
τὴν δοθείσαν θεῖαν εἰκόνα  
κατερρυνώσαμεν·  
διὸ πενθήσωμ(εν)·  
εἴ πως ἐκπλύναι τὸν ῥύπον  
τῶν ἀτόπων πράξεων  
ὅλως ἰσχύσωμεν.

(Held captive by beastly and vicious passions, we have defiled the divine likeness given unto us. Let us therefore lament, that we may perchance wholly wash away the stain of our hideous deeds.)

Οὗτοι τὸ ἔδαφος τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δάκρυσιν βρέχοντες, ἀπαράκλητοι μένουσιν. (These remain inconsolable, watering the ground with their tears.)<sup>11</sup>

The picture, which like many others is unfinished, shows seven weeping monks kneeling upon the ground. The composition differs somewhat from the illustration of this passage in codex 394 (Fig. 85, third scene), where the figures are seated in an almost upright position.

*Fol. 6<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 253).* The final verse of the third ode once more gives the words of the Virgin:

Ἐπινοίας τοῦ πλάνου  
τῆς ἀληθοῦς γνώσεως  
ἀποπλανηθέντες ἀθλίως,  
μὴ ἀπελπίσγητε·  
ἀλλ' ἐπιστρέψατε,  
καὶ ἐκτενῶς δεηθέντες,  
τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ εὐρήσετε  
πταισμάτων ἄφεσιν.

(When you are miserably led astray from the true knowledge by the designs of the deceiver, do not despair, but repent; by earnestly seeking after God you will find pardon for your sins.)

<sup>10</sup> *loc.cit.*

<sup>11</sup> *loc.cit.*



Οὗτοι δακρύων ἀπορούντες, ἑαυτοὺς κατακόπτουσιν· οἷς ἡ Θ(εοτό)κ(ο)ς παρεγγυᾶται μὴ ἀπογνῶναι· ἀλλ' ἐλπίδι τῇ πρὸς Θ(εὸ)ν τὸν ἔλεον ἐφελκύσασθαι. (These, having no tears to shed, smite themselves. The Mother of God exhorteth them not to despair, but to draw nigh with hope in God, who is merciful.)<sup>12</sup>

The Virgin, Μ(ΗΤ)ΗΡ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ, looks down from the arc of heaven and extends her arm toward the penitents, who clutch their faces and tear their hair in grief. This passage, together with the preceding one, is illustrated in a miniature of Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 85, third scene), in which some of the monks grasp their beards.

*Fol. 6<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 254).* The fourth ode, ψδ(ῆ) δ', is to be sung to the melody of the fourth ode in a canon by Cosmas, beginning εἰσακήκοα κ(ύρι)ε.<sup>13</sup>

Νεκρωθέντες τοῖς πάθεσι·  
καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς ἀπολέσαντες·  
δεῦτε ταύτας ἐκζητήσωμεν·  
κοπετοῖς καὶ θρήνοις προσανέχοντες.

(We are slain by passions and are destroying our souls. Come, let us seek after them by devoting ourselves to weeping and wailing.)

Οὗτοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς ὥσανεὶ νεκροὺς προτιθέντ(ες)· ὀλολύζουσι κοπτόμενοι· τὴν συνοχὴν τῆς ἑαυτῶν καρδίας μὴ φέροντες. (These cry out in grief for their souls, as if they believed them dead, being unable to bear the anguish of their hearts.)<sup>14</sup>

Seven monks, one of whom stands alone at the right, hold their hands to their mouths as if attempting to silence their cries. The miniature is unfinished, being executed for the greater part in a flat underpainting. The figure at the right is the most nearly complete, the mantle having highlights brushed on it. There is no illustration of this incident in Vat. gr. 394.

*Fol. 7<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 255).*

Ἀποφράζωμεν βέβηλα  
στόματα καὶ χεῖλη, καὶ βρύχ(ειν) ἔνδοθ(εν)  
τῇ καρδίᾳ μόνῃ δώσομεν·  
καὶ πενθεῖν καὶ στέν(ειν) ᾧ ἡμάρτομ(εν).

(Let us block up our profane mouths and lips. Let us give ourselves to groaning inwardly only with the heart, and to sorrowing and moaning for the sins which we have committed.)

Οὗτοι τῷ στόματι τὸν τοῦ ὀδυρμοῦ ψόφον κωλύοντ(ες), τῇ καρδίᾳ μόνῃ βρύχουσι(ν)· ἔστι δὲ ὅτε τὴν βίαν τῆς ὀδύνης μὴ φέροντες, αἰφνιδίως κρᾶζουσιν. (These stifle the sound of lamenting in the mouth, and groan only in the heart. But when they cannot bear the violence of their grief, they suddenly cry aloud.)<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *loc.cit.*

<sup>13</sup> Eustratiades, *op.cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>14</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 765C.

<sup>15</sup> *loc.cit.*

The miniature, which resembles the preceding one, is likewise executed only in underpainting, except for the figure at the extreme left. Only two of the monks actually touch their mouths.

*Fol. 7<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 256).* Here again the painting has been left unfinished.

Ῥαθυμία δουλεύσαντες,  
στάσεως τῆς κρείττονος ἀπερρίφημ(εν).  
διὸ στένειν οὐ πανσόμεθα,  
κεφαλὰς κινοῦντες καὶ κοπτόμενοι.

(Enslaved by indolence, we have been cast forth from our better state. Therefore will we not cease from groaning, moving our heads and lamenting.)

Οὔτοι σύννους ἐπ' ἐδάφους καθήμενοι· καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν διηνεκῶς κεφαλὰς κινοῦντες, ἐκ μέσης καρδίας βρύχουσιν. (These, sitting speechless on the ground and continually moving their heads, roar from within their hearts.)<sup>16</sup>

Six monks are seated on stones in attitudes of dejection; several rest their faces on their hands, and one sits with upturned head. The act of "roaring" is perhaps better represented in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 86, second scene).

*Fol. 8<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 257).* The ode concludes with the words of the Virgin:

Γηγενεῖς χρηματίζοντες,  
πάθεσιν ὡς ἄν(θρωπ)οι ὑπεπέσατε.  
ἵνατί οὖν ἀπεγνώκατε,  
τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ τὰ σπλάγχνα μὴ λογισάμενοι;

(Being called inhabitants of earth, you have been made subject to passions even as men. Why therefore have you despaired, taking no thought of God's compassion?)

Οὔτοι ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν ἀθυμίας ἑαυτ(ῶν) ἐκστάντες, ἀναίσθητοι πρὸς πάντα τὰ τοῦ βίου γεγόνασιν· οἷς ἡ Θ(εοτό)κ(ο)ς βοηθὸς πάρεστι τὰ σ(ωτή)ρια συμβουλευούσα. (These, distraught by overmuch despondency, have become indifferent to all the things of life. The Mother of God is present as helper unto them, counselling them as to salvation.)<sup>17</sup>

The Virgin, Μ(ΗΤ)ΗΡ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ, stands on a footstool and addresses six monks. The passage is quite differently illustrated in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 86, first scene), where six penitents are seen with heads bowed.

*Fol. 8<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 258).* The fifth ode, ψδ(ῆ) ε', is to be sung to the melody of the corresponding ode of a canon by John of Damascus, commencing ἵνατί με ἀπώσω.<sup>18</sup>

Οἱ τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' ἀνχένος  
φέροντες ζυγὸν τὸν χρηστὸν καὶ σ(ωτή)ριον.

<sup>16</sup> *loc.cit.*

<sup>17</sup> *loc.cit.*

<sup>18</sup> Eustratiades, *op.cit.*, p. 219.

τὰ νῦν οἷω βάρει  
 τῶν πταισμάτων δεινῶς πιεζόμεθα·  
 ὑφ' οὗ κάτω νένειν,  
 καὶ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὥσπερ τὰ κτήνη  
 ἀποβλέπ(ειν) ἀεὶ βιαζόμεθα.

(Of old we bore about our necks the good yoke of salvation. But now with what a burden of sins are we grievously oppressed! Wherefore we are ever constrained to bend down, and to look fixedly to earth like cattle.)

Οὗτοι ἐπὶ ψιλοῦ τοῦ ἐδάφους καθήμενοι, τοῖς γόνασι τὰ πρόσωπα ἐπικαλύπτουσι· καὶ δακρύουσιν. (These, sitting upon the bare ground, cover their faces with their knees and shed tears.)<sup>19</sup>

The unfinished miniature represents four seated penitents, whose heads are sunk between their knees. In the illustration of this passage in codex 394 (Fig. 85, first scene), two of the monks adopt similar postures.

*Fol. 9<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 259).*

Ἵψηλῆς ἐκπεσόντες  
 τάξεως καὶ στάσεως οἱ ματαιόφρονες,  
 εἰς πυθμένα ἄδου  
 καὶ θανάτου σκιὰν κατηντήσαμεν·  
 ἀφ' ὧν ἀναστήναι  
 ἐξαπονοῦντες, τῷ ἐδάφει  
 τὰ ἡμ(ῶν) προσαρράσομεν μέτωπα.

(We who are frivolous have fallen from our exalted rank and station. We have descended into the depths of hell and the shadow of death. Too weak to rise up from thence, we dash our foreheads against the ground.)

Οὗτοι πρηνεῖς κείμενοι, διηνεκῶς τὰ μέτωπα εἰς γῆν τύπτουσιν. (These, extended head downward, continually smite their foreheads against the earth.)<sup>20</sup>

The monks have slumped forward so that their faces touch the ground. This action is likewise carried out by two of the figures in the miniature of Vat. gr. 394 cited above (Fig. 85, first scene).

*Fol. 9<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 260).*

Συληθέντες τὰς φρένας,  
 ἀπὸ τῆς εὐθείας ὁδοῦ ἐπλανήθημεν·  
 καὶ λησταῖς ἀγρίοις  
 συσχεθέντες ψυχὰς ἐπληγώθημ(εν)·  
 διὸ τούτων πᾶσαν  
 σχόντες φροντίδα τῶν μωλώπων,  
 τ(ῶν) ἐκτὸς παντελῶς οὐ φροντίζομεν.

<sup>19</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 765B.

<sup>20</sup> *loc.cit.*

(We have been deceived and our minds carried from the straight way; we have been wounded and our souls taken captive by savage robbers. Wherefore, taking every thought for these wounds, we have no concern whatsoever for outward ones.)

Οὗτοι μολώπων πεπλησμένοι, ἑαυτοὺς ἀνεπιμελήτους ἑῶσι· μὴ δὲ μίαν τῆς σαρκὸς ποιούμενοι πρόνοιαν. (These, covered with sores, allow themselves to be uncared for, taking no thought for the flesh.)<sup>21</sup>

The monks, wearing knee-length tunics, are grouped as in other miniatures, with one figure standing apart at the right. Their heads are bowed mournfully, but no wounds are visible.

*Fol. 10<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 261).* The fifth ode ends with the usual *theotokion*, in this instance a prayer addressed to the Virgin:

Καθαρῶς ἀτενίσαι,  
οἱ ῥερνπωμένοι ψυχὰς τε καὶ σώματα,  
πρὸς σὲ τὴν παρθένον  
καὶ πανάμωμον δέσποιναν φρίττομεν·  
ἀλλὰ σπλαγχνισθεῖσα  
ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἀχρείοις δούλοις,  
τ(ὸν) υἱόν σου ἡμῖν ἐξιλέωσι.

(We who are foul in soul and body dread to look openly on thee, Virgin and all-blameless Queen. Yet with compassion for thine unprofitable servants make thy Son to be gracious unto us.)

Οὗτοι τὰς χεῖρας δεσμεύσαντες, συνεσταλμένοι καὶ γυμνοὶ, ἵστανται· μόλις ἀναβλέψαι βραχύ τι πρὸς τὴν Θ(εοτό)κον τολμῶν(τες) καὶ ἱκετεύοντες. (These, distressed and destitute, and hardly daring for a moment to look up at the Mother of God, stand with fettered hands in supplication.)

This description is not based directly on any passage in the original text, but in theme resembles somewhat the *theotokion* of the first ode (Fig. 249). The penitents, whose hands are bound behind them, look upward with sorrowful faces at the Virgin, Μ(ΗΤ)ΗΡ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ, who puts forth her hand from the arc of heaven.

*Fol. 10<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 262).* The sixth ode, ψδ(ῆ) ζ', follows the melody used for the sixth ode of a typical canon, beginning with the words ἰλάσθητί μοι σ(ωτ)ήρ· πολλὰ γὰρ.<sup>22</sup>

Ἀνάξιοι τῆς τρυφῆς  
τῆς τοῦ κ(υρίου) γενόμενοι  
δι' ἡδονὴν βλαβεράν,  
τὸ πόμα τοῖς δάκρυσιν

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, col. 768B.

<sup>22</sup> Eustratiades, *op.cit.*, p. 220.

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κιρνῶμεν οἱ δέιλαιοι,  
καὶ σποδ(όν) ὡς ἄρτον  
ἐπαξίως νῦν σιτούμεθα.

(Having through pernicious pleasures become unworthy of the Lord's food, we sorry creatures mingle our drink with tears and now rightly eat ashes like bread.)

Οὗτοι σποδὸν μὲν ἀντὶ ἄρτου ἐσθίουσι· τὸ δὲ πόμα τοῦ ὕδατος, κλαυθμῷ κιρνῶσι καὶ δάκρυσιν. (These eat ashes instead of bread, and mingle their drink of water with wailing and tears.)<sup>23</sup>

The miniature presents a balanced composition of five seated figures, of whom the three in the center are sipping water from cups. The outer two are perhaps to be understood as eating ashes. There is no counterpart to this scene in Vat. gr. 394.

*Fol. 11<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 263).*

Ἰσχύς ἡ πᾶσα ἡμῶν  
ὡς ὄστρακον ἀπεξήραται,  
καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ τῇ σαρκὶ  
εἰς τέλος κεκόλληται·  
ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρύτατα  
καὶ ἐκ βάθους στένειν  
καὶ πενθεῖν τὰ παραπτώματα.

(All our strength is dried up like a potsherd, and our bones have for ever cleaved to our flesh from heart-felt lamenting and sorrowing for our most grievous transgressions.)

Οὗτοι κεκολλημένα ἔχοντες τὰ ὀστᾶ τῇ σαρκὶ· καὶ ὡσεὶ χόρτο(ς) ἐξηραμένοι· ἐπὶ συννοίας ἐστήκασιν· ὡς τῷ ἀδιαλείπτῳ πένθ(ει) ἐξατονήσαντ(ες). (These, whose bones cleave to their flesh, are withered like grass. They engage in meditation, as if weakened by unceasing sorrow.)<sup>24</sup>

Four gaunt and skeletal monks, clad only in short tunics, sit discoursing to one another. The miniature is unfinished, and is executed only in brown and dull red colors. The passage on which the description is based has no illustration in Vat. gr. 394, but the scene bears a striking resemblance to another miniature in that manuscript, which appears on fol. 46<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 91).

*Fol. 11<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 264).*

Μακρύναντες ἑαυτοὺς  
τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁμηγύρεως  
τῶν λατρευτῶν τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ·  
φλογμῷ τε καὶ καύσωνι  
νῦν τάλαιπωρήσωμεν,

<sup>23</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 768B.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, col. 768C.

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εἴ πως τῆς γέεννης  
τὸ μὴ λήγ(ον) πῦρ ἐκφύγοιμεν.

(We have removed ourselves from the sacred company of the servants of God. Let us now endure misery in blazing and fiery heat, that perchance we may escape the unending fire of hell.)

Οὗτοι ἐν τῷ καύσωνι ἑαυτοὺς τιμωροῦσι(ν)· οἷς αἱ γλῶσσαι φλεγόμεναι, τοῦ στόματος ἔξω προβέβληνται. (These punish themselves in the fiery heat; their burning tongues have been thrust out of their mouths.)<sup>25</sup>

The illustration, more nearly complete than most, shows five penitents whose tongues protrude from their mouths as described in the text. Vat. gr. 394 contains no counterpart to this scene.

*Fol. 13<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 265).* A prayer to the Virgin concludes the sixth ode:

Ἐτοίμη καταφυγὴ  
καὶ ὀξυτάτη ἀντίληψις  
τῶν προστρεχόντ(ων) εἰς σέ,  
φιλάγαθε δέσποινα·  
σὲ νῦν εἰς βοήθειαν  
οἱ ἀπεγνωσμένοι  
προσκαλούμενοι σωθείμεν.

(O thou present refuge and swiftest help of them that hasten unto thee, we in despair now call upon thee for aid, O benevolent Queen, that we might be saved.)

Οὗτοι τὰς χεῖρας ἄνω πετάσαντες, τὴν Θ(εοτό)κον θερμῶς ἱκετεύουσι(ν)· ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκ ψυχῆς δεήσεως ὥσανεὶ ἐκκρεμάμενοι. (These hold up their hands and ardently beseech the Mother of God, as if they depended on entreaty from the soul.)

The words are not from the text of the Climax. The penitents lift their hands to the Virgin, Μ(ΗΤ)ΗΡ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ, who extends her arm from the arc of heaven.

*Fol. 13<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 266).* The seventh ode, ᾠδ(ῆ) ζ', has for its melody οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας. These are the first words of the seventh ode of a typical canon.<sup>26</sup>

Τῆς τοῦ πν(εύματος) θερμῆς  
ἑαυτοὺς ἀβουλίας  
νοὸς στερήσαντ(ες),  
ἐκτῆξωμεν τὰς σάρκας  
τῷ κρύει καὶ παγετῷ  
ἀεὶ ταλαιπωρούμενοι,  
εἴ πως τὴν ζέσιν αὐθις  
εὕρωμεν τῆς καρδίας.

<sup>25</sup> *loc.cit.*

<sup>26</sup> Eustratiades, *op.cit.*, p. 224.



(Having deprived ourselves of the warmth of the spirit by the thoughtlessness of our minds, let us cause our bodies to waste away in frost and cold, so that being ever in distress we may perchance find again the ardor of the heart.)

Οἷτοι ἐν τῷ ψύχει ἑαυτοὺς βασανίζουσι· καὶ τῷ παγετῷ πηγνύμενοι, τρέμουν·  
(These torture themselves in the cold, and shiver, being stiffened by frost.)<sup>27</sup>

Six lightly clad monks clasp their arms close to their bodies. Very similar postures, likewise expressive of freezing cold, are to be observed in representations of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, a subject illustrated, for example, in an eleventh-century menologium in Moscow.<sup>28</sup> It is quite possible that our miniaturist was inspired by some such model. There is no illustration of this incident in Vat. gr. 394.

Fol. 14<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 267).

Ἀλλομένον καὶ ζῶντος  
οἱ τὸ πρὶν πεπλησμένοι  
εἰς κόρον ὕδατος,  
ἐκείνου ξηρανθέντος  
ἡμῶν τῇ ῥαθυμίᾳ·  
ἑαυτοὺς τιμωρήσωμεν  
τῷ αἰσθητῷ νῦν δάψει,  
τὸ πρὶν ὕδωρ ζητοῦντες.

(Formerly we were filled to excess with springing and living water, but it hath been dried up through our negligence. Let us now punish ourselves with bodily thirst while seeking that pristine water.)

Οἷτοι τῷ δάψει φλεγόμενοι, μικρὸν τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπογεύονται· ὅσον μὴ ἐκ δάψης ἀποθαν(εῖν)· καὶ εὐθὺς παύοντ(αι). (These, burning with thirst, taste a little water, but only enough that they may not perish of thirst, and straightway leave off.)<sup>29</sup>

Five monks sip cautiously from cups of water. The episode is also illustrated in Vat. gr. 394: in the miniature on fol. 44<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 89), the three standing figures at the left are shown holding cups.

Fol. 14<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 268).

Νοητῆς ἀφροσύνης  
καὶ τρυφῆς αἰδίου  
πάλαι γευσάμενοι,  
καὶ ταύτης στερηθέντες

<sup>27</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 768C.

<sup>28</sup> D. K. Treneff, *Miniatures du ménologe grec du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle no. 183 de la Bibliothèque Synodale à Moscou*, Moscow, 1911, pl. VIII, no. 36.

<sup>29</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 768C.

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δι' ἄκραν ἀφροσύνην·  
ἀλόγοις ὁμοιώθημεν,  
διὸ καὶ ἄρτον ἡμᾶς  
οὐκ ἄξιον ἐσθίειν.

(Of old we tasted of the folly of the mind and of everlasting delight, but we have been deprived of this through our utter folly. We have likened ourselves unto beasts, whence it is not right for us to eat bread.)

Οὗτοι μικρὸν τοῦ ἄρτου μεταλαμβάνοντ(ες), τοῦτον<sup>30</sup> μακρὰν ἐαυτῶν ἀπορριπτοῦσιν· ἀναξίους ἐαυτοὺς λογικῆς ἡγούμενοι βρώσεως, ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ἔργα πράξαντες. (These, partaking of a little bread, cast it far from them, holding themselves to be unworthy of human nourishment because they practice inhuman acts.)<sup>31</sup>

The picture shows five seated monks, some of whom nibble at bread, while others toss it aside almost untouched. This incident is likewise illustrated on fol. 44<sup>r</sup> of codex 394 (Fig. 89), where the three kneeling monks on the right are seen throwing away their bread.

Fol. 15<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 269). The *theotokion* takes the form of a prayer addressed by the Virgin to Christ:

Ὁ γαστέρα οἰκήσας  
τὴν ἐμήν, πλαστουργέ μου,  
καὶ σάργ' γενόμενος  
θανών τε ὑπὲρ δούλων,  
κακώσεις τὰς παντοίας  
καὶ ἐκουσίους πρόσδεξαι  
σῶν ἱκετῶν ἀθλίων,  
καὶ ἰλάσθητ(ι) τούτοις.

(O thou my Creator, who didst dwell in my womb, who didst become flesh and die for thy servants, accept the manifold and willing sufferings of thy wretched suppliants and be gracious unto them.)

Οὗτοι ὑπὸ τῆς ἀθυμίας καταπονηθέντες, ἄφωνοι καὶ ἀκίνητοι ἵστανται· εἰς γῆν τὸ ὄμμα ἐρείσαντες· ἀνθ' ᾧν ἡ Θε(εοτό)κος ποιεῖται δέησιν. (These, exhausted by despondency, stand speechless and motionless, and fix their gaze on the ground. For them the Mother of God maketh supplication.)

As in other scenes, the Virgin, Μ(ΗΤ)ΗΡ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ, stands on a footstool, beseeching the Lord, whose hand is seen issuing from the arc of heaven. Behind her are the penitents, all looking downward. With the exception of the face of Mary, the miniature is nearly complete. The description is not taken from the text of the fifth chapter, but the mention of downcast eyes recalls once more the sentence following the first *theotokion* (Fig. 249).

<sup>30</sup> Corrected from τούτων.

<sup>31</sup> Migne, *loc.cit.*

*Fol. 15<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 270).* Here begins the eighth ode,  $\psi\delta(\eta)$   $\eta'$ , the melody being indicated by the words  $\epsilon(\pi\tau\alpha)\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$   $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ , with which the corresponding ode of a familiar canon opens.<sup>32</sup>

*Ἰσχυσεν ἄρα δέησις  
ἡ ἡμῶν πρὸ(ς) τὸν κ(ύριο)ν  
εἰσελθ(εῖν) καὶ τοῦτον φίλοι εὐμενίσασθαι,  
καὶ ἅπαν τὸ ὄφλημα  
τῶν ἀκαθάρτ(ων) πράξεων  
ἡμῖν τοῖς χρεώσταις ἀφεθῆναι ποιῆσαι;  
ἢ πάλιν ἀπεστράφη  
πρὸ(ς) ἡμᾶς ἡσχυμένη  
καὶ τεταπεινωμένη  
καὶ ἄπρακτος εἰς τέλος;*

(Hath then our supplication availed to reach unto the Lord, my friends, and to reconcile him, and to cause all the blame for our unclean deeds to be removed from us who are debtors? Or hath it been turned back again unto us, disgraced, humiliated, and ineffectual for ever?)

*Οὗτοι πρὸ(ς) ἀλλήλους διαποροῦσι(ν), καὶ ἕκαστος αὐτ(ῶν) τ(ὸν) πλησίον ἐπερωτᾷ.*  
(These raise doubts among themselves, and each of them doth question his neighbor.)<sup>33</sup>

The miniature, which has been entirely completed, shows five haggard penitents gesticulating to one another. The text passage from which the description is derived has no illustration in codex 394.

*Fol. 16<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 271).* The next two miniatures are death scenes. The *troparion* of the first reads:

*Ἄρα πῶς ἔνδον ἔχει σοι  
ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ διάκειται,  
ἀδελφε ἡμῶν, εἰπὲ καὶ συγκατάδικε;  
σκικτᾷ τε καὶ γέγηθε  
καὶ φωτισμοῦ αἰσθάνεται,  
ὅς σοι καὶ τὴν λύσιν τῶν πταισμάτων μηνύει;  
ἢ ἔτι σοι στυγνάζει  
ἡ καρδία καὶ τρέμει,  
πεπληρωμένη σκότους  
τοῦ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων;*

(Tell us, brother and fellow-criminal, how and in what state is thy soul within thee? Doth it leap for joy, and doth it perceive the light which

<sup>32</sup> Eustratiades, *op.cit.*, p. 219.

<sup>33</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 769C.

revealeth unto thee forgiveness for thy transgressions? Or is thy heart still sad and trembling, and filled with the darkness of thy sins?)

Οὗτοι ψυχορραγούντα τινὰ ἐξ αὐτ(ῶν) πε(ρι)ΐστανται· ἐπ' ἐδάφους ὕπτιον κείμενον· καὶ τῇ συμπαθ(εῖα) καιόμενοι, ἐρωτῶ(σιν) πε(ρι)παθῶς τὸν ἐκλείποντ(α). (These stand about one of their number that is about to die and lieth on his back on the ground. Consumed with sympathy, they passionately question him that departeth.)<sup>34</sup>

This scene, in which the penitents cluster about a dying brother, invites comparison with the two miniatures of this subject in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 93).

Fol. 16<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 272). The dying one replies:

Συνεχομένοις θλίψεσι  
καὶ πειθοῦσι καὶ στένουσιν,  
ἄγγελο(ς) ὑμῖν νῦν δεξιὸς γενήσομαι·  
καὶ γὰρ ὁ φιλάν(θρωπ)ος  
καὶ ἐλεήμ(ων) κ(ύριο)ς,  
τῆς ἡμῶν ἀκούσας προσευχῆς τῶν πενήτων,  
ἐξήλειψεν εἰς τέλος  
τὰς ἡμῶν ἀνομίας·  
διὸ σκιρτᾷ μοι ἄρτι  
καὶ χαίρει ἡ καρδία.

(Unto you who sorrow and lament in mutual anguish will I now become a good angel. For the Lord, who loveth mankind and is merciful, hath heard the prayer of us poor ones, and hath wiped out our transgressions for ever. Wherefore my heart now leapeth for joy.)

Οὗτοι ὁμοίως τὸν ψυχορραγούντα περιϋστάμενοι· ὑπέχουσ(ιν) αὐτῷ τὰ ὦτα· καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένων ἀκροῶνται σὺν προσοχῇ. (These, likewise standing around him that is about to die, give ear unto him, and listen attentively to what he saith.)

The dying man, lying on a woven straw mattress as in the preceding scene, replies to his questioners. The monks gather sorrowfully around him, and two bend low to catch his last words.

Fol. 17<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 273). In the *theotokion* the Virgin speaks once more to the penitents:

Τὸν ἐν ἐλέει πλούσιον  
καὶ οἰκτίρμονα κ(ύριο)ν,  
ἱλε(ων) ὑμῖν ταυτὴν εὐαγγελίζομαι·  
διὸ τὴν κατήφειαν  
ἀποβαλόντες πόρρω ὑμῶν,  
χαράν τε καὶ τέρψιν ἀναλάβετε πάντες·

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*, col. 772C.

THE PENITENTIAL CANON

καὶ γλώσση καὶ καρδία  
ἐν μιᾷ δότε δόξαν  
τῷ θέλοντι ἀπάντων  
ἀνθρώπων σ(ωτη)ρίαν.

(Now I bring unto you good tidings of the gracious Lord, who is rich in mercy and compassionate. Therefore cast far aside your dejection, and take ye all up joy and gladness. With heart and tongue together give glory unto him that wisheth salvation for all men.)

Οὔτοι πρὸς τὴν Θ(εοτό)κον ἱλαρῶς ἀποβλέπον(τες), εὐφροσύνως παρ' αὐτῆς τὰ εὐαγγέλια δέχονται. (These, joyfully looking up at the Mother of God, happily receive the good tidings from her.)

The passage has no basis in the text of the Climax. Five monks, whose woe-begone faces belie the joy that they are said to feel, turn toward the Virgin, Μ(ΗΤ)ΗΡ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ, who extends her hand from the arc of heaven.

*Fol. 17<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 274).* The ninth and final ode, ᾠδ(ῆ) θ', is a free poetic invention, with almost no relation to the text of the fifth chapter. It tells how the penitents, having spent this life in misery, at last find their reward in heaven. The melody is indicated by the words ἐξέστη ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ οὐ(ρα)νός, with which the ninth ode of a typical canon commences.<sup>35</sup> Here the Lord addresses the monks:

Ἔπεσχον μου τὰ ὦτα ἐξ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ  
καὶ ὑμῶν δεομένων ὑπήκουσα,  
τὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς  
κοπετὸν καὶ θρήνον μὴ παριδών·  
ἐπικαμφθεὶς δὲ μάλιστα  
τῆς ἀγνῶς τεκούσης με ταῖς λιταῖς·  
διὸ καὶ τῶν πταισμάτων  
λύσιν ὑμῖν βραβεύω,  
χεῖρα ὀρέγων δεξιὰν ἐμήν.

(I gave ear from heaven and hearkened unto your supplications, and did not overlook your soul-felt wailing and lamenting. But especially was I moved to compassion by the prayers of her who chastely bore me. Therefore I grant unto you forgiveness for your sins, and stretch forth my right hand unto you.)

Οὔτοι τὸν Χ(ριστὸ)ν οὐ(ρα)νόθεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφαινόμ(ενον) ἰδόν(τες), καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῖς προτείνοντα ὡς ἀληθῶς μετανοήσασι κ(αὶ) δεκτὴν αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτῶν μετάνοιαν γενέσθαι παρεγγνώμ(ενον), ὑπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς πρὸς αὐτ(όν) τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνοντ(ες)· ὥσανεὶ μετέωροι γίνονται. (These, seeing Christ appearing unto them from heaven, extending his right hand to them that have been truly penitent, and promising them

<sup>35</sup> Eustratiades, *op.cit.*, p. 220.



that their penitence is acceptable unto him, stretch forth their hands toward him for joy and are as if exalted.)

The illustration is exactly as described, with Christ, Ἰ(ΗCOΥ)C Χ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C, wearing gold garments, in the arc of heaven at the right. The upthrust hands of the penitents are particularly effective.

*Fol. 18<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 275).*

Πενθήσαντες ἐν βίῳ καὶ τὰ ὕμ(ων)  
ἐν κλαυθμῷ τότε σπείραν(τες) σπέρματα,  
νῦν ἐν χαρᾷ  
καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει διηνεκεῖ  
τὰ τῶν καμάτων δράγματα  
ἄρατε· ἰδοὺ γ(ὰρ) ἡ τῆς ἐδέμ  
ὕμιν ἡνοικται πύλη·  
καὶ εἰσελθόν(τες) ἄμα,  
διηνεκῶς μοι συννεφραίνεσθε.

(You who in life sorrowed and sowed your seed in tears, now gather up the harvest of your labors in happiness and everlasting joy. For behold, the gate of Eden hath been opened unto you. Enter straightway and rejoice with me for ever.)

Τούτους τοὺς μακαρίους καταδίκους ἐντὸς γενέσθαι τοῦ παραδείσου ὁ Χ(ριστὸς) προσκαλεῖται· οἱ δὲ ὀρμῶσι καὶ πρὸς(ς) ἐκεῖ(νον) βαδίζουσι(ν). (Christ calleth upon these blessed criminals to be within Paradise. They hasten to go unto him.)

The Lord, Ἰ(ΗCOΥ)C Χ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C, clad as before in gold, appears in an elliptical mandorla and points to the brilliant red door of Paradise, before which is a Cherub holding a spear. The monks eagerly surge forward to enter the flowering garden seen beyond. Although the episode is not recounted in the fifth chapter, it nonetheless follows logically from those passages in which the penitents ask that the gate of heaven be opened unto them.<sup>36</sup>

*Fol. 18<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 276).*

Οὐκ ἔχομ(εν) νοῆσαι ἢ ἐξείπ(εῖν)  
τὴν τ(ῆς) σῆς ἀγαθότητο(ς) ἄβυσσον,  
ἣν εἰς ἡμ(ας),  
σ(ωτ)ῆρ, ἐνεδείξω τοὺς ταπεινοὺς·  
καὶ γὰρ τῆς σῆς ἡξίωσας  
θέας καὶ γλυκείας διαγωγῆς  
τῆς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ,  
ἐφ' οἷσπερ ἀσιγήτως  
τὴν σὴν δοξάζομεν χρηστότητα.

<sup>36</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, cols. 769A and 772D.



(We cannot understand nor declare the depth of thy kindness, which thou, O Saviour, hast shown unto us who are humble. For thou hast deemed us worthy of thy sight and of the sweet life in Paradise, for which things we glorify thy mercy incessantly.)

Οἱ ἅγιοι κατάδικοι σὺν Χ(ριστ)ῷ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ διάγον(τες)· πρὸ(ς) αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνουσι· καὶ εὐχαριστοῦσιν ἀγαλλιώμενοι. (The holy criminals, dwelling with Christ in Paradise, stretch forth their hands unto him and offer thanks with exceeding great joy.)

The miniature resembles the one preceding it, except that the penitents now stand within the gate of Paradise. Again they hold up their arms to Christ, Ἰ(ΗCOY)C Χ(PICTO)C, who speaks to them from the segment of heaven.

*Fol. 19<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 277).* The final verse of the Canon takes the form of a prayer of thanksgiving by the Virgin:

Σοὶ λόγε καὶ υἱέ μου καὶ ποιητὰ,  
τῷ ἐμοὶ μεγαλεῖα ποιήσαντ(ι),  
εὐχαριστῶ,  
ὅτι προσεδέξω μου τὰς λιτάς  
καὶ εὐμενῶς ἐπέβλεψας  
ἐπὶ τοὺς ζητοῦντας σε ἐκτενῶς·  
καὶ τούτοις ἐχαρίσω  
τῆς σῆς ἀρρήτου δόξης  
τὴν αἰωνίζουσαν ἀπόλαυσιν.

(Unto thee, O Word, my Son and Maker, who hast done great things for me, do I offer thanks. For thou hast received my prayers and hast looked graciously upon them that seek earnestly after thee; and thou hast granted unto them the everlasting enjoyment of thine ineffable glory.)

Ἡ Θ(εοτό)κος εὐχαριστοῦσα ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν μετανοησάντων σ(ωτη)ρίας· κ(αὶ) τῆς αὐτῶν ἐν παραδείσῳ διαγωγῆς. (The Mother of God offering thanks for the salvation of the penitents and for their life in Paradise.)

The Virgin, Μ(ΗΤ)ΗΡ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ, wearing a red-violet mantle over a light blue tunic, stands in the midst of the garden with arms uplifted to the Lord, whose hand issues from the arc of heaven. The monks, clad once more in long tunics, are gathered in a compact body at the left. For the first time their appearance is one of composure, as befits the note of thanksgiving on which the Canon ends.

Unlike the cyclic illustration of the Climax proper, the iconography of the Penitential Canon is repeated without essential variation in a number of manuscripts of later date. In two codices in Venice (Marc. gr. II 32 and

gr. II 44), and in Sinai gr. 427, the illustrations are executed in ink and colored wash. In Athens 742 and Athens 1395 they take the form of pen-drawings. The relationship of these later copies to Vat. gr. 1754 may be indicated by comparing a few illustrations in each manuscript to the corresponding miniatures in the Vatican codex. Since they exhibit a distinct loss of expressive power, they will be dealt with only briefly.

The closest resemblance is furnished by the fifteenth-century pictures of Venice gr. II 32, as may be seen by comparing the *theotokion* of the fifth ode (Fig. 279) with that in Vat. gr. 1754 (Fig. 261). The attitudes of the penitents, their arms tied behind them, have been carefully, if a little mechanically, preserved in the Venice copy (the figure at the left is a reflection of the miniature on the reverse). The copyist has also attempted to approximate the colors of the model, employing browns and blues for the monks' garments and gray-blue for the ground line, but substituting red for the purple mantle of the Virgin. The scene of the monks eating sparingly of their bread (Fig. 280) is likewise strikingly similar to the Vatican miniature (Fig. 268), even to the inclusion of the triangular fold of drapery behind the head of the monk seated at the left. A later hand has made a feeble drawing of a head at the upper right.

The same two illustrations may next be examined in the sixteenth-century pen-drawings of Athens 1395. In Ode V, 4 (Fig. 282), the number of monks agrees with that in the Vatican miniature; but in the centralized position on the page and in the disposition of individual figures there is a marked resemblance to Venice gr. II 32 (Fig. 279). The illustration of Ode VII, 3 (Fig. 283) is likewise closely related to that in the Venice codex (Fig. 280), the drawing of the hair being especially similar.

Even less pretentious are the drawings in Athens 742, of the seventeenth century. The penitents with their arms bound behind them (Fig. 285) have been reduced in number to four. Similarly, in Ode VII, 3 (Fig. 286) only three seated monks are shown, as compared to five in the other manuscripts.

The illustrations of Venice gr. II 44, of the sixteenth century, are somewhat more independent in character. The picture of the *theotokion* (Fig. 288) shows ten monks instead of the original nine, and the striding posture of the figure at the left is paralleled in no other copy. The five seated monks of Ode VII, 3 (Fig. 289) are likewise more freely grouped: the legs of the right-hand figure are not concealed by his neighbor's, as they are in Vat. gr. 1754 and all other manuscripts; and the object held by the monk at the left seems to be a cup—evidently a misinterpretation of what ought to be a piece of bread.

Lastly, the illustrations in Sinai gr. 427, of the sixteenth or seventeenth

century, retain only the general compositional arrangements and are quite altered in details. The miniature of the *theotokion* (Fig. 291) represents the penitents standing on the bank of a stream, and beyond, a spacious landscape with trees and distant hills which surely reflects western influence; the attitudes of the individual figures, moreover, offer few analogies to the original (cf. Fig. 261). In Ode VII, 3 (Fig. 292) the number of monks has been greatly increased, and the action takes place within a cave, thus resembling somewhat the narrative illustrations in Vat. gr. 394 (Fig. 88). Here again, as in Venice gr. II 44 (Fig. 289), the monk at the left holds a cup rather than a piece of bread.

Some of the later copies of the Canon can be shown to depend ultimately on Vat. gr. 1754. We have already seen that this dependence is particularly close in Venice gr. II 32. A further comparison may clarify the relationship. In the second miniature of the Vatican Canon (Fig. 247) the staffs of the two monks at the right rest on the ground line, about half an inch above the lower border. In the copy of this illustration in the Venice codex (Fig. 278) the strip of ground has been omitted, so that the staffs terminate in air. Even more conclusive, however, is the head of a child seen in the arms of the monk at the extreme left. Inspection reveals that in the Vatican miniature there are actually two monks represented: one resting his head on his shoulders with his arms folded and resting on a staff, and a second, standing behind him, whose upturned head alone is visible. The Venice miniaturist has misunderstood this grouping, conceiving it to represent only one figure, and making the first monk's head into the face of a child. The same amusing error has been perpetuated in Athens 1395 (Fig. 281) and again in Athens 742 (Fig. 284), where the infant has assumed a body and is comfortably seated within the monk's arms. In the former, it will be noted, the staffs held by the two figures on the right (like those in Venice gr. II 32) do not rest on the ground. In preserving the identical mistake, Venice gr. II 32 and the two Athens manuscripts are thus to be grouped together as depending on Vat. gr. 1754. The corresponding miniatures in Venice gr. II 44 (Fig. 287) and Sinai gr. 427 (Fig. 290) have neither the peculiarity of the shortened staffs nor the infant in the monk's arms.

Venice gr. II 32, which (barring the error described above) we have seen to be most faithful to the original, may even be a direct copy after Vat. gr. 1754. Next in order stand the illustrations of Athens 1395, which in turn are very closely related to those of Venice gr. II 32. And the crude drawings of Athens 742 are evidently a simplified version of codex 1395—perhaps again a direct copy. Venice gr. II 44 and Sinai 427, on the other hand, appear to derive independently from the archetype.

The later copies of the Canon differ from Vat. gr. 1754 in three respects. First, none of them employ the ornamental border around the text and pictures. Secondly, only in the Vatican manuscript does the Canon commence on the verso; the others agree in starting on the right-hand page. Thirdly, in the later copies (with the exception of Athens 1395) the Canon is followed by a miniature of the heavenly ladder (cf. Fig. 293), sometimes spaced over two adjoining pages; in Vat. gr. 1754 this scene precedes the work (Fig. 238).

The Penitential Canon can have been sung only in monastic communities, on what occasion it would be interesting to know. Its function, clearly, was inspirational, that by the formidable example of the "holy criminals" the monks might be moved to a spirit of more profound contrition. To this end the illustrations must have contributed immeasurably, with their graphic demonstration of the various heroic deeds of penitence and their glowing promise of eventual reward.

The illustration of musical manuscripts is not unparalleled in Byzantine art. One category that comes to mind is that of the *sticheraria*,<sup>37</sup> which are occasionally furnished with miniatures; Sinai gr. 1216, to cite a typical example, has numerous illustrations of hymns. But these, on analysis, prove to be only images of saints derived from the *menologium*, or scenes of the Virgin and Christ borrowed from the Gospels.<sup>38</sup> None are designed specifically for the *sticherarium* itself.

A much more pertinent comparison is offered by illustrated manuscripts of the great *Akathistos Hymnos* sung in honor of the Virgin Mary, the best-known being that in Moscow (Hist. Mus., cod. gr. 429), of the fourteenth or fifteenth century.<sup>39</sup> This work contains twenty-four miniatures, each occupying half a page, and each illustrating a verse of the hymn, somewhat after the manner of Vat. gr. 1754. Many of the illustrations are merely adopted without change from traditional iconographic formulae, as for example those of the Annunciation<sup>40</sup> and the Adoration of the Magi.<sup>41</sup> But others, like the miniatures of the Penitential Canon, were clearly invented for the text of the hymn itself. A striking instance occurs in connection with the verse commencing: "We see the Holy Virgin as a lamp of living light

<sup>37</sup> For the contents of the *sticherarium*, cf. C. Höeg, H. J. W. Tillyard, and E. Wellesz, *Sticherarium* (*Monumenta musicae Byzantinae*, I), Copenhagen, 1935, pp. 13f.

<sup>38</sup> Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, II, p. 129. *idem*, *Puteshestvie na Sinai v 1881 godu*, Album, pl. 84.

<sup>39</sup> N. Likhachev, *Materialy dlia istorii russkogo ikonopisaniiā*, St. Petersburg, 1906, II, pls. CCCLVI-CCCLVII, nos. 700-707. On the illustration of the Akathist Hymn generally, cf. J. Myslevic, "Ikono-grafie Akathistu Panny Marie," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, v, 1932, pp. 97ff.

<sup>40</sup> Likhachev, *op.cit.*, pl. CCCLVI, nos. 701-702. <sup>41</sup> *ibid.*, pl. CCCLVI, no. 703.



shining upon those in darkness."<sup>42</sup> The miniature shows worshipers adoring the Virgin, who stands within a radiant mandorla before a huge lighted candle.<sup>43</sup> This scrupulously literal rendering of the text is comparable to certain illustrations in Vat. gr. 1754, such as that on fol. 18<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 275): "For behold, the gate of Eden hath been opened unto you."

The date of composition of the Canon is not easily determined. The earliest witness known to me is Vat. gr. 1754, which may be dated in the twelfth or thirteenth century. The work itself is anonymous, and the wording of the verses is so conventional as to preclude any effective dating by stylistic analogy;<sup>44</sup> many lines are taken almost verbatim from the Psalms. The form of the Canon, furthermore, constructed as it is according to an acrostic, is a common one, and can be paralleled in numerous liturgical hymns of the Greek church as early as the ninth century.<sup>45</sup>

But if the date of the Canon itself remains uncertain, we are on surer ground in dealing with the pictures. For it is more than likely that the inspiration for them came from a series of narrative illustrations to the fifth chapter of the Climax, such as those in Vat. gr. 394 that have to do with the same acts of penitence. Thus, the two death scenes in codex 1754 (Figs. 271 and 272) are strikingly reminiscent of those in codex 394 (Fig. 93). Still better evidence is furnished by the miniature of four haggard monks in the Canon (Fig. 263), which is obviously related to the scene on fol. 46<sup>r</sup> of Vat. 394 (Fig. 91). The latter, as was pointed out above, adheres closely to the original text, taking account of such details as the hairless heads, the pale and withered faces, and the inadequate clothing. These same features are unmistakably reproduced in the miniature of codex 1754. Yet here the descriptive text is taken from another part of the chapter, which, although it speaks of withered bodies, says nothing of baldness or of dress. Since it appears, then, that a Climax cycle of the type of Vat. gr. 394 was known to the artist who created these pictures, we may conclude that the Penitential Canon was not illustrated before the eleventh century.

<sup>42</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, xcii, col. 1345B.      <sup>43</sup> Myslevic, *op.cit.*, p. 115, pl. xi, no. 6.

<sup>44</sup> Mention may be made here of the ingenious fashion in which some verses retain the flavor of the typical stanzas after which they are patterned. The most remarkable in this respect is the *theotokion* of the sixth ode (Fig. 265), written according to the verse Ἰλάσθητί μοι, Σωτήρ (Eustratiades, *op.cit.*, p. 220). Thus the fourth line, φιλάγαθε δέσποινα, effectively recalls the corresponding line in the model, ἀνάγαγε δέομαι. Similarly, the fifth line, σὲ νῦν εἰς βοήθειαν, is plainly an echo of its counterpart, πρὸς σὲ γὰρ ἐβόησα.

<sup>45</sup> Cf., for example, the acrostic canon to St. Calliopius, written in the fourth plagal mode by Joseph the Hymnographer, which follows exactly the same typical verses, or *hirmoi*, as the Penitential Canon (I. Nikolaidēs, ed., *Μηναῖον τοῦ Ἀπριλίου*, Athens, 1905, pp. 26-29).

## V. BYZANTINE MONASTICISM AND MONASTIC ART OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

OUR investigation of the principal Climax cycles (Chap. III *supra*) has led to the conclusion that their genesis lies in the eleventh century. This result is of some significance for the history of Byzantine art. For it is obvious that only a very real interest in the ideals and practice of the monastic life can have accounted for the illustration of a text such as the *Heavenly Ladder*, offering as it does so few opportunities for narrative representation.

There is admittedly nothing radically new in this conception of the period. Byzantine art may be said to have undergone a major transformation near the close of the tenth century, when the robust classicism of the "Macedonian renaissance" was succeeded by a style of greater austerity and spirituality. The process of transition can actually be observed, as Weitzmann has shown,<sup>1</sup> in the gospel book of Sinai, cod. gr. 204, probably to be dated in the late tenth century. The portraits of Matthew<sup>2</sup> and Mark<sup>3</sup> still retain to a marked degree the plasticity and ease of stance that betoken the use of antique models. But in the portrait of Peter the Hermit<sup>4</sup> in the same manuscript we encounter a new ideal: the figure is severely attenuated and adopts a purely frontal pose, the effect being at once more two-dimensional and more spiritualized. This is the type of ascetic saint that was to become the norm in Byzantine art of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; it may be seen, for example, in the figure of John Climacus in the dedication miniature of Sinai gr. 418 (Fig. 175). The importance of the monastic element in effecting this change has often been remarked on. Thus, in the Vatican Menologium of Basil II (967-1025), Bayet saw indications that the "renaissance . . . has lost its vitality, and that the art is taking on that exclusively monastic character which henceforth it will not lose."<sup>5</sup> Diehl observes that mid-Byzantine illumination, "toute pénétrée au début de la tradition antique, tout inspirée des modèles profanes, tout éprise de style pittoresque et d'observation réaliste, s'est peu à peu acheminée vers un art sévèrement religieux, vers une piété plus étroite, vers un but plus strictement fixé, vers des règles plus immuables."<sup>6</sup> Of Vat. gr. 394 the same writer remarks that "rien ne montre mieux l'effacement des thèmes antiques et le complet triomphe des idées ascétiques."<sup>7</sup> Kondakov, who invented the term "le style mignon" for the

<sup>1</sup> *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pp. 28f.      <sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, pl. xxxviii, no. 211.

<sup>3</sup> Kondakov, *Puteshestvie na Sinai*, Album, pl. 35. V. Beneshevich, *Monumenta Sinaitica*, fasc. 1, Leningrad, 1925, pl. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Kondakov, *op.cit.*, pl. 37. Beneshevich, *op.cit.*, pl. 28.

<sup>5</sup> C. Bayet, *L'art byzantin*, Paris, n.d., p. 166.

<sup>6</sup> C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, Paris, 1926, II, pp. 64of.      <sup>7</sup> *loc.cit.*



delicate miniatures of the period, noted "the impress of monastic ideas and tendencies" in eleventh-century gospel books such as Paris gr. 74.<sup>8</sup>

But if the prevailing spirit of asceticism was able to bring about a change in style, it was no less effective in giving rise to a new and distinctive monastic iconography. The illustration of the *Heavenly Ladder* stands out as a conspicuous example. The Climax cycles, moreover, are not the sole evidence of this inventiveness. Mention has several times been made above of the romance of Barlaam and Joasaph. This text, essentially a glorification of the monastic life, was first illustrated in the early years of the eleventh century, not long after its translation into the Greek tongue. The Barlaam cycle may be said to reflect the same ascetic zeal as the illustration of the Climax, with which indeed it is approximately contemporary.

Equally relevant in this context are the so-called "monastic psalters."<sup>9</sup> These manuscripts, characterized by their distinctive marginal illustrations, constitute a unified group, the pictorial recension of which appears in developed form as early as the ninth century, an example being the Chludoff Psalter in Moscow (Hist. Mus., cod. add. gr. 129). Fundamentally the same iconography is retained in the eleventh-century copies—the Theodore Psalter in London (Brit. Mus., Add. MS 19352) and the Barberini Psalter (cod. Vat. Barb. gr. 372)—with the addition, however, of numerous pictures of saints not found in the original cycle. This "irruption of saints," as Louis Mariès has termed it,<sup>10</sup> is especially marked in the London Psalter, written by the monk Theodore in the year 1066 at the monastery of the Studios in Constantinople. Included in its extensive gallery of portraits are, of course, many of the familiar figures venerated by the Eastern church: the great Fathers, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom; and the martyrs, Stephen, Ignatius, and others. What is particularly interesting, however, is the large proportion of monastic saints, who make up nearly half of the entire group added to the basic recension. Of these the most recent is St. Theodore, abbot of the Studios from 799 to 826, who is represented, quite understandably in a Studite manuscript, four times.<sup>11</sup> But a very special preference is shown for the early hermits of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, including such figures as Anthony the Great, Arsenius, and Ephraim Syrus.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, II, p. 138.

<sup>9</sup> J. J. Tikkanen, "Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, xxxi, 1903, no. 5, pp. 11 ff.

<sup>10</sup> L. Mariès, "L'irruption des saints dans l'illustration du psautier byzantin," *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXVIII, 1950 (Mélanges Paul Peeters, II), pp. 153-162. The author conveniently lists the saints illustrated.

<sup>11</sup> Fols. 27<sup>v</sup>, 78<sup>r</sup>, 88<sup>v</sup>, 192<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> E.g., Anthony (fol. 151<sup>r</sup>), Arsenius (75<sup>v</sup>), Ephraim (97<sup>r</sup>), Macarius (67<sup>v</sup>, 98<sup>r</sup>), Zosimus (68<sup>r</sup>), Sabas (68<sup>v</sup>), Euthymius (161<sup>r</sup>). Nearly all of these also figure in Vat. Barb. gr. 372.

Here, then, in a Constantinopolitan manuscript, we encounter further evidence of a reawakened interest in the institution of monasticism, and, specifically, a heightened awareness of the heroic figures of the past.

A comparable intrusion of monastic imagery is found in two other psalters of the period, both of which are distinguished by their unusual iconography. Vat. gr. 752, datable about 1059 by its Easter tables,<sup>13</sup> contains four miniatures of stylite saints. Simeon Stylites is shown both on his column,<sup>14</sup> and lying on his death-bed.<sup>15</sup> Two other column-dwellers are pictured: one is identified as Silvester,<sup>16</sup> and the other as Dositheus.<sup>17</sup> The miniatures are reminiscent of the illustrations of stylites in Sinai gr. 418 (Figs. 211-212).

Somewhat later, but surely to be regarded as exemplifying the same monastic enthusiasm, is another Vatican psalter, cod. gr. 1927. The iconography of this manuscript, to which we have several times had occasion to refer, is likewise independent of the standard psalter recensions, but exhibits some connections with the so-called monastic group.<sup>18</sup> In the miniatures of individual psalms, monks are frequently chosen to represent "the holy ones" or "the saints."<sup>19</sup> On fol. 218<sup>r</sup>, it will be recalled, the heavenly ladder of John Climacus serves to illustrate "the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord" (Fig. 296). One miniature shows four monks seated at the refectory table<sup>20</sup> ("thou givest them their meat in due season"); in representing the daily life of a monastic community the scene recalls certain illustrations of Sinai gr. 418 (cf. Figs. 200 and 213). The words "I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord" are figured by three men making confession to a monk, his cowl drawn over his head.<sup>21</sup> It will be observed that this office is not performed by a priest; the costume of the confessor is plainly that of a monk.

In the field of monumental art, the influence of the ascetic spirit is nowhere seen more clearly than in the mosaics of Hosios Loukas in Greece, generally dated in the first half of the eleventh century.<sup>22</sup> The distinctive feature of this cycle (as compared to those of Daphni and the Nea Moni) is the very large proportion of saints' pictures, which number over one hundred. Of these, more than a third are icons of monks,<sup>23</sup> so that in this respect the series

<sup>13</sup> E. T. DeWald, *Vaticanus Graecus 752* (The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, III, part 2), Princeton, 1942, p. XI.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, pl. XLVII, no. 2.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*, pl. XLV, no. 4.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, pl. XXIV, no. 4.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*, pl. XLI, no. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Tikkanen, "Psalterillustration im Mittelalter," pp. 91ff. DeWald, *Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, p. 52.

<sup>19</sup> DeWald, *op.cit.*, pls. VIII, no. 1; XIV, no. 2; LIV, no. 2; LXI, no. 1; and LXIV, no. 1.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, pl. LXI, no. 2.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, pl. XV, no. 1.

<sup>22</sup> E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece; Hosios Lucas and Daphni*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*, p. 45. The series includes a portrait of John Climacus, who appears also in the less extensive cycle of the Nea Moni.

resembles the selection of portraits in the Theodore Psalter. The unusual emphasis on monastic saints in Hosios Loukas has been explained as resulting from the provincial location of the church, remote from developments in the capital.<sup>24</sup> The style of the mosaics may, it is true, be "pervaded by a spirit of monkish austerity"; but this does not in the least diminish the analogy of the cycle to that of the Theodore Psalter. Hosios Loukas was, moreover, an imperial foundation (under Romanus II in the tenth century), and thus might be expected to have maintained contact with contemporary monastic developments in the Byzantine capital. And that its comprehensive programme of monastic hagiology was not merely an isolated, local solution is proved by its perpetuation in later Byzantine art: the numerous ascetics whose images adorn the lower walls of Dochiariu<sup>25</sup> and other Athonite churches may likewise be traced back ultimately to the tradition of Constantinople. There is thus every reason to see in this great mosaic cycle yet another reflection of a powerful ascetic movement in eleventh-century Byzantium.

It seems probable, finally, that the consequences of this same monastic spirit extended even beyond the limits of the Greek world. Of the successive waves of Byzantine influence that made themselves felt on the art of Western Europe, none is more remarkable than that which dominated the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino in the latter half of the eleventh century, in that it was due largely to a single individual—the great Abbot Desiderius.<sup>26</sup> In the *Chronicle of Cassino*, Leo of Ostia tells how Desiderius summoned artists and ordered works of art from Constantinople for the decoration of the new basilica of St. Benedict, an additional function of the Greek artists being to train the monks in the Byzantine manner.<sup>27</sup> Of the basilica and its decoration only the bronze doors have survived, but the effects of Desiderius' programme can be seen quite as clearly in contemporary frescoes (such as those of S. Angelo in Formis) and in illuminated manuscripts.

The finest Cassinese book is a liturgical manuscript preserved in the Vatican Library (cod. lat. 1202), containing the life of St. Benedict by Gregory the Great and those of Sts. Maur and Scholastica. The acrostic verses on fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, which refer to Desiderius as abbot, show that the manuscript must have been made before 1086, at which time he became Pope Victor III; Bloch

<sup>24</sup> O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, London, 1947, p. 57.

<sup>25</sup> G. Millet, *Les monuments de l'Athos*, I, *Les peintures*, Paris, 1927, pls. 215ff.

<sup>26</sup> On the relationship between Monte Cassino and Constantinople, especially in the time of Desiderius, cf. H. Bloch, "Monte Cassino, Byzantium, and the West in the Earlier Middle Ages," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, III, 1946, pp. 163ff.

<sup>27</sup> Leo of Ostia, *Chronicon Casinense*, III, 27 (Migne, *P.L.*, CLXXIII, cols. 748C-749A).

adduces further evidence for dating it about 1070.<sup>28</sup> There is little reason to doubt that this is the manuscript described by Leo of Ostia in the *Chronicle*: "*Codicem quoque de vita sancti Benedicti et sancti Mauri et sanctae Scholasticae describi studiosissime fecit.*"<sup>29</sup> The miniatures of the codex are not all by the same hand, the Byzantine elements being most pronounced in those illustrating the life of Benedict.<sup>30</sup> The attitudes, the gestures, and even the costumes of the figures are unmistakably Byzantine in appearance: on fol. 80<sup>r</sup>,<sup>31</sup> for example, an angel is shown wearing the imperial loros. The opening scenes depicting the saint's existence as a hermit are of particular interest. On fol. 2<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 302)<sup>32</sup> Benedict is represented in his cave while his disciple lowers a basket of food to him by means of a rope. The rendering of the cave as a jagged opening within a rocky mound of irregular outline at once recalls those seen in the Climax miniatures (cf. Fig. 114) and in the paintings of the Death of Ephraim (cf. Fig. 300). The Italian artist takes a further step away from naturalism by transforming the rocks into more conventionalized shapes and by neglecting to represent the interior of the cavern in shadow, but the Byzantine origin of his art remains obvious. In such details there is doubtless reflected the influence of the same cycle of hermit-scenes.

It is possible that the miniatures of Vat. lat. 1202 were copied from a Greek illustrated manuscript of the life of Benedict; Gregory's biography is known to have been translated into Greek by Pope Zacharias in the eighth century.<sup>33</sup> It has been suggested, on the other hand, that the model may have been found in another medium. The *Chronicle of Cassino* relates that Abbot Desiderius ordered from Constantinople a golden altar frontal adorned with scenes in enamels representing the miracles of St. Benedict.<sup>34</sup> Bertaux therefore proposed that this altar frontal, long lost, may have served as model for the illustrator of the Vatican manuscript.<sup>35</sup> Such a series of enamels would, in any event, have been derived from manuscript illustrations. Whatever the nature of the original, then, the miniatures of Vat. lat. 1202 provide still another witness to the predilection for scenes of monastic life in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts of the eleventh century.

The evidence thus far assembled points unmistakably to an ascetic movement of some consequence in Constantinople after the year 1000. We must

<sup>28</sup> Bloch, *op.cit.*, pp. 205ff.      <sup>29</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, col. 736A.

<sup>30</sup> Reproduced in D. M. Inganez and M. Avery, *Miniature cassinesi del secolo XI illustranti la vita di S. Benedetto*, Monte Cassino, 1934. These miniatures are the work of the monk Leo (E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, I, Paris, 1904, pp. 204ff.).

<sup>31</sup> Inganez and Avery, *op.cit.*, pl. XIX.      <sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, pl. II.

<sup>33</sup> The Greek and Latin versions are printed in parallel columns in Migne, *P.L.*, LXVI, cols. 125-204.

<sup>34</sup> *idem*, *P.L.*, CLXXIII, col. 756C.      <sup>35</sup> Bertaux, *op.cit.*, p. 207.



now inquire more closely into the actual condition of monasticism in the Byzantine capital.

On first consideration, the growth of a genuinely ascetic spirit in this sophisticated atmosphere might seem unlikely. Indeed it is certain, as Hussey has shown,<sup>36</sup> that many of the best minds of the period were directed toward a revival of learning rather than of monastic piety. In the field of humanistic scholarship there is a notable record of achievement: the activities of men such as Michael Psellus<sup>37</sup> and John Xiphilinus,<sup>38</sup> and the reopening of the University in 1045,<sup>39</sup> are symptomatic of a general enthusiasm for higher learning. To describe the eleventh century as an age in which piety and devotion alone were valued would be to ignore the facts.

But, on the other hand, the monastic ideal was never totally absent from the Byzantine consciousness. Even at the high point of intellectual achievement the role of the monk was not despised. And in the eleventh century, moreover, there is convincing evidence to show that it was held in unusually high esteem.<sup>40</sup> From this time date such important monastic establishments as the Nea Moni on Chios (1042) and St. John the Evangelist on Patmos (1088). To the lengthy list of imperial foundations and concessions must be added the houses endowed by patriarchs, and by laymen such as Michael Attaleiates.<sup>41</sup> The testament of Eustathius Boilas, an officer of the Byzantine court, provides for extensive gifts to the monastery of the Virgin of Salem.<sup>42</sup> The most impressive record of this period was the development of the monastic communities of Mount Athos. At first inhabited only by hermits, the Holy Mountain acquired an organized monastery in 964, when Athanasius, under the patronage of the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, founded the Great Laura. A period of rapid growth ensued during the eleventh century, when no fewer than eight communities came into being.<sup>43</sup> It is worth noting, in passing, that in almost every instance the administration of these Athonite monasteries was based on the *Typicon* of the Studios in Constantinople. The possibility was never remote that any man, whatsoever his station, might one day elect the monastic life—as the examples of Michael Psellus and

<sup>36</sup> J. M. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867-1185*, London, 1937, pp. 37ff.

<sup>37</sup> C. Zervos, *Un philosophe néoplatonicien du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Michel Psellos*, Paris, 1920.

<sup>38</sup> W. Fischer, *Studien zur byzantinischen Geschichte des elften Jahrhunderts*, Plauen i. V., 1883, pp. 2-49.

<sup>39</sup> Hussey, *op.cit.*, pp. 51ff. <sup>40</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 158ff.

<sup>41</sup> K. N. Sathas, *Bibliotheca Graeca mediæ ævi*, Venice-Paris, 1872-94, I, pp. 3-69. Cf. also W. Nissen, *Die Diataxis des Michael Attaleiates von 1077*, Jena, 1894.

<sup>42</sup> The testament is contained in Coislin 263, of the year 1059. See the Catalogue, No. 16.

<sup>43</sup> Xeropotamu (1028-34), Esphigmenu (early eleventh century), Dochiariu (early eleventh century), St. Paul (c. 1050), Karakallu (c. 1070), Xenophon (c. 1070), Kastamonitu (c. 1086), Kutlumusi (1081-1118) (Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, pp. 7f.).

Xiphilinus remind us. One may smile at the ease with which the Emperor Isaac Comnenus and even the scholar Psellus sought refuge within the cloister when public life threatened disgrace or ruin. Yet such incidents serve only to demonstrate more clearly the importance of monasticism as an integral part of the Byzantine polity.<sup>44</sup>

But a mere show of increased respect for the monastic life cannot be said to constitute an ascetic movement, which, if it was more than superficial, must have been fostered by the monks themselves. Of all the monastic figures of this era, one man emerges with particular clarity as a dominant and compelling personality. This is the great mystic, St. Symeon the Younger, a monk of Constantinople, sometimes called the New Theologian.<sup>45</sup> The rediscovery of Symeon is one of the achievements of modern scholarship: he was first brought to light by Karl Holl,<sup>46</sup> and more recently has been made the subject of studies by Hussey,<sup>47</sup> Biedermann,<sup>48</sup> and by Hausherr and Horn (who edited his biography).<sup>49</sup> His significance, theologically and philosophically, has been amply demonstrated. With one exception,<sup>50</sup> Symeon and his followers have not been considered in relation to the history of art.

The life of Symeon,<sup>51</sup> written by his disciple Nicetas Stethatus, relates that he entered the monastery of the Studios on the advice of his namesake and spiritual father, a Studite monk called Symeon the Pious. The New Theologian's devotion to his spiritual father was so openly expressed as to be thought detrimental to discipline, and, after being rebuked by the abbot, both men left the Studios to go to the monastery of St. Mamas. Here the younger Symeon eventually became abbot, his sermons, on one occasion, provoking a rebellion of thirty of his monks. After the death of his spiritual

<sup>44</sup> Cf. J. M. Hussey, "Byzantine Monasticism," *History*, new series, xxiv, 1939, pp. 56-62. In this "historical revision" the writer refutes the notion that Byzantine monasticism was an institution of "barren asceticism without a history."

<sup>45</sup> The name Σύμεων ὁ νέος θεολόγος is properly translated "Symeon the Younger, the Theologian," but custom has already rechristened him "the New Theologian."

<sup>46</sup> K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum; eine Studie zu Symeon dem Neuen Theologen*, Leipzig, 1898. Cf. also the review by A. Ehrhard in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xi, 1902, pp. 178-183.

<sup>47</sup> Hussey, *Church and Learning*, pp. 193ff. and *passim*.

<sup>48</sup> H. M. Biedermann, *Das Menschenbild bei Symeon dem Jüngeren dem Theologen*, Würzburg, 1949.

<sup>49</sup> I. Hausherr and G. Horn (ed.), "Un grand mystique byzantin. Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien par Nicéas Stéthatos," *Orientalia Christiana*, xii, 1928, no. 45 (hereafter cited as "Vie de Syméon"). See also V. Laurent, "Un nouveau monument hagiographique; la vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien," *Echos d'Orient*, xxviii, 1929, pp. 431-443.

<sup>50</sup> L. H. Grondijs, *L'iconographie byzantine du Crucifié mort sur la croix*, Brussels, n.d. The author's thesis is that in the eleventh century the iconography of the Crucifixion was modified as the result of a mystical doctrine formulated by Nicetas Stethatus, Symeon's disciple and biographer.

<sup>51</sup> I have followed the edition of Hausherr and Horn, "Vie de Syméon."



father, Symeon's insistence on celebrating his cult incurred the displeasure of the ecclesiastical authority, particular objection being taken to his setting up an icon of the deceased. At the command of the patriarch the icon was torn down, and Symeon himself was condemned to exile near Chrysopolis, where, undaunted, he founded a monastery of St. Marina. He was soon officially pardoned, but refused to return to the capital, and instead remained in voluntary exile, writing hymns and theological treatises, until his death in 1022.<sup>52</sup>

Symeon was not a learned man, a fact which caused his biographer to marvel at the brilliance of his writings.<sup>53</sup> But if he was not widely read, he was at least thoroughly acquainted with the lives of the early ascetics: there are frequent references in his mystical works to Anthony the Great, Arsenius, Euthymius, Sabas, and Stephen the Younger,<sup>54</sup> and it is evident that he sought to model his life after the manner of these saints. Symeon's entry into the ascetic life, like that of Anthony, was marked by violent combats with demons, especially those of sloth, timidity, and lust—traditionally the worst enemies of the novice. His mode of existence, as might be expected, was both simple and severe. He ate sparingly and endured long fasts. He had no bed, but lay on the ground. "He partook of even less sleep than the great Arsenius," says Nicetas, "and precisely at the rising of the sun engaged in prayer, bathed in the hottest tears."<sup>55</sup> Then, "purified by his weeping . . . he came forth from his cell for the *cathisma*; afterwards he read the Holy Scriptures and the lives of the early ascetics, whose great deeds he took unto himself."<sup>56</sup> This harsh manner of life, characterized by perpetual penitence and self-denial, Symeon also recommended to the monks under his charge: in a sermon addressed to novices<sup>57</sup> he describes in detail the rigorous daily routine of his monastery.

In addition to the lives of saints, Symeon studied the great ascetic treatises, and in his own writings he advises monks to choose literature of this sort.<sup>58</sup> The *Heavenly Ladder* was a particular favorite. Nicetas relates that in his youth, before his entry into the Studios, Symeon discovered the Climax in his father's library, and, reading it, was inspired to practice fasting and long

<sup>52</sup> The only date supplied by the *Life* is that of the translation of Symeon's remains to Constantinople (1052). Holl concluded that he was born *c.* 965 and died *c.* 1040 (*op.cit.*, pp. 23-26). A more plausible chronology, on the basis of internal evidence, was established by Hausherr, according to whom the saint was born in 949, and died on March 12, 1022 (Introduction to the "Vie de Syméon," pp. LXXX-XCI).

<sup>53</sup> "Vie de Syméon," p. 186 (no. 130).

<sup>54</sup> E.g., in his *Orationes* (Migne, *P.G.*, cxx, cols. 350D-352A, 471C-D).

<sup>55</sup> "Vie de Syméon," pp. 34-36 (no. 25). <sup>56</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 36-38 (no. 26).

<sup>57</sup> Migne, *op.cit.*, cols. 440-447 (*Oratio xxv*).

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*, col. 617A.

vigils and to meditate on death and judgment.<sup>59</sup> The work is one of the few, other than the Bible, from which Symeon quoted passages in his writings;<sup>60</sup> probably no other influenced him as much.

Symeon's theology—and in this he may be regarded as the forerunner of the Hesychast movement of the fourteenth century—has as its goal a mystic union with God, a union manifested in an ecstatic vision of the divine light.<sup>61</sup> In some respects his conception of an ordered progression toward illumination is reminiscent of the *Heavenly Ladder*: he speaks of the virtues, for example, as being disposed by God in a sequence of steps or rungs.<sup>62</sup> The lowest of these is humility, and the highest, like the topmost rung of the Climax, is love.<sup>63</sup> It is possible that this imagery is derived in part from his reading of John Climacus; but it would surely be a mistake to conclude that Symeon's theology is wholly dependent on the older author. The idea of a progressive ascent to perfection is too widespread to be associated exclusively with Climacus. It is, ultimately, in the practical rather than in the theoretical aspects of Symeon's doctrine that one senses an analogy with the *Heavenly Ladder*. The New Theologian rejects a purely intellectual system of devotions, and insists instead on the efficacy of ceaseless tears and penitence. "Where there are copious tears, my brothers," he writes, "with true understanding, there is the splendor of the divine light; where there is the splendor of this light, there do all good things abound, and the sign of the Holy Spirit is planted in the heart, whence issue all the fruits of life."<sup>64</sup> And again, in a letter to an adversary, the Holy Spirit is revealed, he says, "not to the rhetoricians and philosophers, not to those learned in the writings of the Greeks . . . but to the poor in spirit and in life, to the pure in heart and body."<sup>65</sup> John Climacus, in his chapter "on sorrow," warns his readers that "theology is not proper to them that mourn, for it may dissolve their sorrow."<sup>66</sup> And he concludes: "O my friends, at the moment of the departure of the soul, we shall not stand accused of having failed to work miracles, to be theologians, or to practice contemplation; but we shall wholly render

<sup>59</sup> "Vie de Syméon," p. 12 (no. 6).

<sup>60</sup> E.g. Migne, *op.cit.*, cols. 489D-490A (*Oratio xxxii*).

<sup>61</sup> For discussions of Symeon's theology see Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt*, pp. 36-103; Hussey, *Church and Learning*, pp. 201-225; and Biedermann, *Das Menschenbild bei Symeon dem Jüngerem*, *passim*. The Hesychast reformers, it may be added, looked with favor on both Symeon and John Climacus: Gregory the Sinaite names their works in a list of recommended authors (Migne, *P.G.*, cL, col. 1324D). A fourteenth-century Climax manuscript in Milan (Ambros., cod. G 20 sup.) includes selections from the writings of Symeon (A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, Milan, 1906, I, pp. 460ff., no. 387; see also the Catalogue below, No. 10).

<sup>62</sup> Holl, *op.cit.*, p. 50: ἐν τάξει γὰρ καὶ βαθμῇ ταύτας ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς . . . τὰς ἀπετάς.

<sup>63</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, cxx, col. 383B. <sup>64</sup> *ibid.*, col. 414D.

<sup>65</sup> Introduction to the "Vie de Syméon," p. LXV. <sup>66</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXVIII, col. 805C.

account unto God for not having been continually penitent."<sup>67</sup> The words might have been written by the New Theologian.

One of the most important of Symeon's writings is his *Homily on Confession* (λόγος περὶ ἐξομολογήσεως).<sup>68</sup> In this he confirms the right of unordained monks to give absolution from sin. The power of binding and loosing, bestowed first upon the apostles, was granted by them to bishops, from whom it passed to priests. But these, Symeon says, have become unworthy; the task of confession therefore devolves upon the monks, "the chosen people of God,"<sup>69</sup> for in them, according to ancient tradition, the Holy Spirit resides. Symeon's appeal, as always, is to be the historical mission of monasticism. Among the miniatures of Vat. gr. 1927 there is one that seems to refer specifically to this argument: in the scene of confession on fol. 51<sup>r</sup>, already mentioned above, the figure performing this act is a monk, not a priest.<sup>70</sup>

Symeon did not lack followers, either at St. Mamas or later at St. Marina. Of these the most zealous was never directly under his charge—his biographer, Nicetas Stethatus, likewise the author of mystical works,<sup>71</sup> but known today chiefly for his part in the controversy between Byzantium and Rome that led to the schism of 1054.<sup>72</sup> Nicetas, paradoxically, was a monk at the Studios, from which Symeon had been virtually expelled some years earlier, and it was at this same monastery that he set about vindicating the name of the New Theologian and quelling the hostility that was still felt for him. His first task was to make an edition of the saint's writings, which had been entrusted to his care; the biography was composed not long after the translation of Symeon's remains to Constantinople in 1052.<sup>73</sup>

It is customarily said that Symeon's influence becomes apparent only in the fourteenth century, when the Hesychasts adopted many of the principles formulated by him.<sup>74</sup> It is no doubt true that his mystical doctrines did not at once find general acceptance. But our concern, once again, is not so much with Symeon the theologian as with Symeon the reformer, whose stern asceticism was surely not without effect on his contemporaries. His whole career was an expression of his belief that monasticism must return to the simple zeal and penitence of the early fathers. The apathy of the present,

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*, col. 816D. <sup>68</sup> Edited by Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt*, pp. 110-127.

<sup>69</sup> *ibid.*, p. 120. <sup>70</sup> DeWald, *Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, pl. xv, no. 1.

<sup>71</sup> For Nicetas' writings see M. T. Disdier, in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, s.v. "Nicéas Stéthatos."

<sup>72</sup> On the schism, and Nicetas' role in it, see M. Jugie, "Le schisme de Michel Cérulaire," *Echos d'orient*, xxxvi, 1937, pp. 440ff. Full literature on the subject is given by Bloch, "Monte Cassino, Byzantium, and the West," pp. 189ff.

<sup>73</sup> Hausherr, Introduction to the "Vie de Syméon," pp. xv ff.

<sup>74</sup> Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt*, pp. 214ff. J. Gouillard, in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, s.v. "Syméon le jeune."

he argued, offered as great a challenge as the paganism and heresies of old. In one of his sermons he speaks out against those who think that the age of the saints is beyond recall: "I call them heretics who teach that it is not possible for anyone now living amongst us to heed the gospel commandments, and to fashion himself after the pattern of the holy fathers."<sup>75</sup> Anthony, Euthymius, and Sabas, he continues, were men like ourselves. What they accomplished can be done again. And he was prepared to demonstrate the truth of this statement by the example of his own life, dedicating himself to humility, penitence, and tears. It would be an exaggeration, perhaps, to say that Symeon personally instituted a spiritual revival; the mood of ascetic enthusiasm was in the air, and his career is merely the most vivid manifestation thereof. But there can be no doubt that Symeon the Younger was instrumental in bringing about the "triumph of ascetic ideas" in eleventh-century Byzantium. His greatest achievement was that he brought to life the memory of a venerable tradition, and gave to monasticism of his own day a new awareness of its history and destiny.

The spirit of ascetic enthusiasm did not die with the passing of the New Theologian. We have seen how Nicetas, the chief among his disciples, labored to keep alive the principles for which his master had fought. Still later in the century there arose other men whose concern was likewise with the history and ideals of monasticism. Nikon, a monk of Raithu on the peninsula of Sinai during the reign of Constantine Ducas (1059-1067), was the author of a compendium of the ascetic life, embodying extensive quotations from the fathers on this subject.<sup>76</sup> In the time of Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118), John, patriarch of Antioch, wrote to protest against the secular control of monasteries, asserting that the intervention of the laity violated the first principle of monasticism—complete withdrawal from the world.<sup>77</sup> The note of reform sounded in his work recalls the uncompromising attitude of Symeon himself.

To reinforce his argument John of Antioch marshals an imposing list of authorities whose testimony defines the nature and purpose of the monastic life. He appeals first to the church fathers, Athanasius, Basil, and Gregory of Nyssa. But even before these, he adds, the Egyptian desert fathers had assembled their record—the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. Then followed the great ascetic treatises; of these he names specifically the *Lausiac History*

<sup>75</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, cxx, cols. 472D-473A (*Oratio xxx*).

<sup>76</sup> The work has not been edited. The prologue is published in Migne, *P.G.*, cxxvii, cols. 513-516. Of the remainder there exists in print only the list of sixty-three chapter-titles, with indications of the chief authors cited (*idem*, *P.G.*, cvi, cols. 1360-1381). Cf. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, pp. 155f.

<sup>77</sup> *De disciplina monastica et de monasteriis laicis non tradendis* (Migne, *P.G.*, cxxxii, cols. 1117-1149).

of Palladius, the *Paradise* of John Moschus, the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Climacus, and several other works, including those of Theodore Studites. From the evidence of these authors, he continues, it is universally agreed that perfect salvation lies "in renunciation and flight from the world and from those in the world—in the ascetic, or monastic, way of life."<sup>78</sup> By such men as John of Antioch the enthusiasm for the rigorous austerity of primitive monasticism was maintained throughout the eleventh century.

It is not difficult to understand how the revival of interest in early ascetic literature was accompanied by a desire to illustrate these very texts. For some of them, indeed, pictorial cycles may have already existed: the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, for example, can be shown to have been illustrated at least as early as the ninth century.<sup>79</sup> But for other texts, the new spirit of enthusiasm meant illustration for the first time. Amongst them is to be numbered the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Climacus.

It may be felt that an ascetic movement such as that signaled by Symeon could have little or no effect on art—that an interest in pictures would not be in harmony with the austerity of the monastic reformer. But here it must be remembered that the Byzantine monk, in whose theology images had held an important place since the era of Iconoclasm, was aware of no such incompatibility. As the champions of the pictures, the monks of Constantinople, under the leadership of men like Theodore Studites, had played an active role in the Iconoclastic Controversy of the eighth and ninth centuries. During this period there was evolved the doctrine that the icon embodies the sanctity of its prototype, and hence, to use the phrase of Basil the Great often cited by the iconodules, that "the honor given to the image passes to the original."<sup>80</sup>

Symeon's conception of religious art followed the traditional, orthodox doctrine. Brought before the patriarch to justify the cult of his spiritual father and the icon that he had had painted of him, he said in his own defense: "Our fathers, who received in succession the customs and rules of the Church of the Faithful, have from the beginning charged us that we should represent the likenesses of our fathers the saints, and honor and venerate them, because the honor passes to the original, Christ himself, whose likeness we bear, and who did not disdain to take on ours. I caused this icon to be made of a servant of Christ. . . . In honoring it, I venerate and worship Christ in this saint."<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.*, cols. 1124D-1125B.

<sup>79</sup> J. R. Martin, "An Early Illustration of *The Sayings of the Fathers*," *Art Bulletin*, xxxii, 1950, pp. 291-295.

<sup>80</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, xxxii, col. 150.

<sup>81</sup> "Vie de Syméon" pp. 120-122 (no. 88).



There are other evidences to show that Symeon was not hostile to the painter's art. In his cell he kept an icon, before which he no doubt prayed in order to reach the state of ecstasy that signified grace. One of his disciples described to Nicetas the following miracle: "Toward midnight, with my eyes wide open as if I were awakened by someone, I then saw accomplished in him [Symeon] a spectacle that was awful both to see and to hear. For there hung in his cell a great icon of the Deesis, reaching to the roof, and a lamp burned before the icon. I watched, and behold! (Christ is my witness that I speak the truth) the saint was suspended about four cubits in the air, level with the icon; his arms were uplifted and he prayed, wholly in light and splendor."<sup>82</sup> After his death, portraits of Symeon proved to have miraculous powers, healing the devout and inflicting penalties on the impious.<sup>83</sup>

Book-illumination is nowhere mentioned in the biography, but Nicetas relates that at St. Mamas Symeon was accustomed to copy manuscripts, a task at which he was very skillful, "his script being a pleasure to see."<sup>84</sup> It is possible that there were other monks in the scriptorium whose talents were employed in the illustration of texts. In any event it is clear that, whatever its severities, the ascetic discipline as practiced by Symeon and his followers did not extend to iconoclasm.

It may indeed be true that Symeon gave to monastic art the decisive stimulus that was to shape its course throughout the century. How this might have come about we can only guess, but at least one possibility comes to mind. Symeon's work, it will be remembered, was carried on after his death by Nicetas in the monastery of Studios. Symeon himself, moreover, had not only been trained in that house, but continued, by reason of his uncompromising attitude, to be identified with it; the patriarch Sergius, reproaching him for his stubborn refusal to return from exile, called him "a true Studite."<sup>85</sup> In more ways than one, Symeon must have reminded his contemporaries of an earlier champion of monasticism, the great abbot Theodore Studites, likewise noted for his unyielding disposition. The Studios, always in the forefront of developments in the capital, would certainly have been the most likely center for the propagation of monastic reform, and it is not impossible that Symeon's influence on art was transmitted through this very agency. Here, admittedly, we must resort to hypothesis and conjecture, but it may be pertinent to recall that the Theodore Psalter, one of the principal

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.*, p. 166 (no. 117). <sup>83</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 208ff.

<sup>84</sup> *ibid.*, p. 38 (no. 27). Under Theodore Studites, the copying of manuscripts had assumed new importance as a monastic occupation. Symeon's concern with calligraphy doubtless stems from his early training at the Studios, where the effects of Theodore's teaching were still in evidence. On this subject see A. Gardner, *Theodore of Studium, his Life and Times*, London, 1905, pp. 230ff.

<sup>85</sup> "Vie de Syméon," p. 150 (no. 108).



evidences of the new spirit in eleventh-century art, was produced in the Studios, perhaps even during Nicetas' residence there.<sup>86</sup>

Symeon may thus be said to typify, if he did not actually initiate, the spirit of monastic reform that swept over Constantinople in the eleventh century. Seen against this background of renewed enthusiasm, the artistic developments of the period are more readily grasped. The advances of asceticism could not fail to foster a style distinguished by its other-worldly character—the expression, in visible form, of the monastic principle of “renunciation of life.” In like manner, the new iconography, with its emphasis on monks and monkish deeds, is seen to be the inevitable corollary of the growth of ascetic zeal. It was under these conditions, when the heroic past once more loomed large, and when monasticism could produce a personage of the stature of Symeon the Younger, that the illustration of the *Heavenly Ladder* was begun.

<sup>86</sup> The dates of Nicetas' life are unknown, but the evidence of the biography suggests that he was born c. 1000 (cf. Hausherr, Introduction to the “Vie de Syméon,” p. xxiii). The Theodore Psalter bears the date 1066.

## VI. CATALOGUE OF ILLUSTRATED CLIMAX MANUSCRIPTS

**T**HE catalogue is arranged in alphabetical sequence according to place. It includes all Climax manuscripts with figure illustrations known to me, both those with full cycles and those with one or two miniatures only. No attempt has been made to list all codices decorated solely by a schematic ladder; I have thought it sufficient to give a representative selection.<sup>1</sup>

The notice on each manuscript includes a brief description of physical characteristics, contents, and system of illustration; a discussion of style and date; and the pertinent bibliography.

The text of the *Heavenly Ladder* is to be understood as comprising also the letters of John of Raithu and John Climacus, the *Vita* by Daniel of Raithu, the preface, and the *Homily to the Pastor*.

1. ATHENS, BENAKI MUSEUM, COD. 66. 341 folios, 18.5 x 13.7 cm., parchment. XI century. (Fig. 24.)

*Contents:*

The *Heavenly Ladder*.

*Decoration:*

fol. 15<sup>v</sup>. Author portrait.

fol. 16<sup>r</sup>. Ornamental head-piece to chap. 1.

The small scale and delicate execution of the author portrait are typical of eleventh-century illumination. For the floral pattern and knotted columns a parallel may be found in the decoration of one of the canon tables of Vienna theol. gr. 154, a gospel book datable about 1050.<sup>2</sup>

The first folio bears the stamp of Ambrosius, Metropolitan of Caesarea.

2. ATHENS, NATIONAL LIBRARY, COD. 742. 83 folios, 15 x 10 cm., paper. XVII century. (Figs. 284-286.)

<sup>1</sup> Of the many other manuscripts employing the same sort of decoration, the following may be noted: Athos, Dionysiu, cod. 193 (S. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, Cambridge, 1895-1900, I, p. 357); Jerusalem, Saba, cod. 363 (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, St. Petersburg, 1891-1915, II, pp. 479f.); London, Brit. Mus., Add. MS 17471 (E. M. Thompson, *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum*, part I, *Greek*, London, 1881, p. 24, pl. 19); Meteora, Metamorphosis, cod. 548 (K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, fasc. x, Boston, 1939, pls. 755-757); Milan, Ambros., cod. A 152 sup. (A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, Milan, 1906, I, pp. 58f.); Rome, Vat., cod. Reg. gr. 41 (P. Franchi de' Cavalieri and J. Lietzmann, *Specimina codicum Graecorum Vaticanorum*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1929, pp. XII f., pl. 25); Sinai, cod. gr. 426 (V. Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Sinaiticorum*, Oxford, 1886, p. 103); Sinai, cod. gr. 428 (*loc.cit.*).

<sup>2</sup> P. Buberl and H. Gerstinger, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften*, II (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, new series, IV, pt. 4), Leipzig, 1938, pp. 21ff., pl. VII, 2.

## CATALOGUE OF CLIMAX MANUSCRIPTS

### Contents:

Various liturgical texts, one of which is the Penitential Canon based on the fifth chapter of the Climax. The *Heavenly Ladder* itself is not included.

### Decoration:

fols. 62<sup>r</sup>-72<sup>v</sup>. Twenty-two pen-drawings illustrating the Penitential Canon. (For full description of the cycle cf. Vat. gr. 1754, fols. 3<sup>v</sup>-19<sup>r</sup>.)

fols. 73<sup>v</sup>-74<sup>r</sup>. Drawing of monks climbing the heavenly ladder, spaced over two adjoining pages.

fols. 76<sup>r</sup>-77<sup>v</sup>. Four miniatures of genealogical trees showing the vices.

The manuscript is in ruinous condition, many of its pages being fragmentary. The Canon lacks the following verses: 3 and 4 of the first ode; 3 and 4 of the third; 1 and 2 of the fourth; 3 and 4 of the eighth; and 1 and 2 of the ninth (five folios in all). The miniatures are executed in ink, with occasional red washes. It is possible, as noted in Chap. iv above, that they are copies, in simplified form, after those in Athens 1395. The drawing is too crude to permit reliable stylistic analysis, but the miniatures are surely to be dated in the seventeenth century. The two-page illustration of the heavenly ladder is by the same hand.

By a second, and even less skillful, hand are the four pictures that follow. Each shows two trees, the leaves of which are identified as vices; beside each tree stands a figure explaining its significance. These, it is clear, have nothing to do with the *Heavenly Ladder*.

J. and A. Sakkelion, *Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Athens, 1892, p. 135.

A. Delatte, *Les manuscrits à miniatures et à ornements des bibliothèques d'Athènes*, Paris-Liège, 1926, pp. 105f.

3. ATHENS, NATIONAL LIBRARY, COD. 1395. 313 folios, 21.2 x 15.4 cm., paper. XV-XVI century. (Figs. 281-283.)

### Contents:

The Penitential Canon, and the *Syntagma alphabeticum* of Matthew Blastares. The *Heavenly Ladder* is not included.

### Decoration:

fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-16<sup>v</sup>. Thirty-two pen-drawings illustrating the Penitential Canon. (For full description of the cycle cf. Vat. gr. 1754, fols. 3<sup>v</sup>-19<sup>r</sup>.)

The illustrations, which were perhaps copied from those of Venice gr. 11 32, are dated by Delatte in the fifteenth century. Their closest stylistic parallels, however, are found in Athonite manuscripts of the early sixteenth century. They may be compared in particular with Iviron 809, a horologium written at that monastery in the year 1518;<sup>3</sup> it contains four pictures of saints (fols. 250<sup>r</sup>-253<sup>r</sup>), executed in line and wash, and showing a very similar use of cross-hatching in the shaded portions. The Athens miniatures are perhaps to be attributed to a scriptorium on Mount Athos of the same period.

<sup>3</sup> Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mt. Athos*, II, p. 227. Photos in the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

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Sakkelion, *op.cit.*, p. 253.

Delatte, *op.cit.*, pp. 92ff., pls. xxxiii-xxxix.

V. N. Lazarev, *Istoriia vizantiĭskoĭ zhivopisi*, Moscow, 1947-48, p. 369.

4. ATHOS, IVIRON, COD. 415. 204 folios, 25.5 x 17 cm., parchment. Anno 985. (Fig. 6.)

*Contents:*

The *Heavenly Ladder*.

*Decoration:*

fol. 185<sup>r</sup>. A schematic ladder forming part of the table of contents.

Ornamented initials and head-pieces.

The manuscript bears a colophon on fol. 186<sup>v</sup> with the date 985: ἐτελειώθη ἡ ἱερὰ καὶ θεῖα δέλτος αὕτη μ(η)ν(ι) ἰαννουαρίῳ λα΄ δηὰ χειρῶν πέτρου μο(να)χ(οῦ) ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἀναξίου πρεσβυτέρου εἰς ἔτος ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ςυςγ΄ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ΄ ἡμέ(ρα) ζ΄ ὥρ(α) ζ΄.

S. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, Cambridge, 1895-1900, II, p. 144, no. 4535.

M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 388.

K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, fasc. III, Boston, 1935, pls. 158-159.

5. ATHOS, LAURA, COD. A 73. 248 folios, 29 x 21.6 cm., paper. XV century. (Fig. 8.)

*Contents:*

The *Heavenly Ladder*.

*Decoration:*

fol. 228<sup>v</sup>. A vertical ladder forming part of the table of contents. At the top, a cross with the inscription ἰ(ησοῦ)ς χ(ριστὸ)ς νικᾷ.

This codex offers a late example of the simplest method of Climax illustration—the schematic ladder of which the rungs are numbered in correspondence with the chapter-titles.

Spyridon and S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos*, Cambridge, Mass., 1925, p. 277, no. 1563.

6. ATHOS, STAURONIKITA, COD. 50. 288 folios, 24.5 x 18.7 cm., parchment. XIV century. (Figs. 133-171.)

*Contents:*

The *Heavenly Ladder*, and the *Centuriae de caritate* of Maximus Confessor.

*Decoration:*

fol. 1<sup>v</sup>. The heavenly ladder.

fol. 2<sup>r</sup>. Ornamented head-piece (John of Raithu's letter).

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- fol. 3<sup>r</sup>. John Climacus (?) (the author's reply).
- fol. 11<sup>v</sup>. Author portrait.
- fol. 12<sup>r</sup>. Monk on first rung of the ladder (chap. i).
- fol. 20<sup>r</sup>. Monk on second rung, and personification of Dispassionateness (chap. ii).
- fol. 20<sup>v</sup>. Ornamented head-piece (chap. ii).
- fol. 24<sup>r</sup>. Monk on ladder (chap. iii).
- fol. 28<sup>v</sup>. Sleeping monk visited by angels (chap. iii, part 2).
- fol. 30<sup>v</sup>. Monk on ladder (chap. iv).
- fol. 61<sup>v</sup>. Monk and personification (chap. v).
- fol. 76<sup>r</sup>. Monk on ladder (chap. vi).
- fol. 79<sup>v</sup>. The same (chap. vii).
- fol. 89<sup>r</sup>. The same (chap. viii).
- fol. 94<sup>r</sup>. The same, with the personifications of Malice and Humility (chap. ix).
- fol. 96<sup>r</sup>. Monk on ladder, and Malice (chap. x).
- fol. 98<sup>v</sup>. Monk on ladder, standing on the prostrate form of Slander (chap. xi).
- fol. 100<sup>r</sup>. Monk on ladder, with Malice, Slander, Charity, and Silence (chap. xii).
- fol. 101<sup>v</sup>. Monk on ladder, and Sloth reclining at the foot (chap. xiii).
- fol. 103<sup>v</sup>. Monk on ladder, and Gluttony eating (chap. xiv).
- fol. 109<sup>r</sup>. The same, with Tranquillity and Temperance (chap. xv).
- fol. 123<sup>v</sup>. The same, with Nature lying bound at the foot (chap. xvi).
- fol. 124<sup>v</sup>. Monk on ladder looking up to Christ (chap. xvii).
- fol. 126<sup>r</sup>. Monk on ladder (chap. xviii).
- fol. 128<sup>v</sup>. Monk pulled down from ladder by numerous vices (chap. xix).
- fol. 130<sup>r</sup>. Monk on ladder, and Prayer (chap. xx).
- fol. 132<sup>v</sup>. The same, with Vainglory and Unbelief (chap. xxi).
- fol. 134<sup>r</sup>. The same, with angel and demon (chap. xxii).
- fol. 139<sup>v</sup>. The same, with Pride and Vainglory (chap. xxiii).
- fol. 143<sup>v</sup>. Monk on ladder (chap. xxiii, part 2).
- fol. 146<sup>v</sup>. The same, with Meekness and Simplicity (chap. xxiv).
- fol. 149<sup>v</sup>. Monk on ladder (chap. xxv).
- fol. 159<sup>v</sup>. The same (chap. xxvi).
- fol. 174<sup>r</sup>. The same. In the margin, a stag drinking (chap. xxvi, part 2).
- fol. 185<sup>v</sup>. Monk walking towards the arc of heaven (chap. xxvi, part 3).
- fol. 190<sup>r</sup>. Monk on ladder (chap. xxvii).
- fol. 193<sup>v</sup>. Miniature cut out (chap. xxvii, part 2).
- fol. 201<sup>r</sup>. Monk facing an angel (chap. xxviii).
- fol. 208<sup>v</sup>. Monk on ladder, and Prayer offering him a wreath. In the margin, two demons (chap. xxix).
- fol. 211<sup>v</sup>. Monk kneeling before Christ (chap. xxx).
- fol. 217<sup>r</sup>. John Climacus and John of Raithu (*Homily to the Pastor*).
- fol. 233<sup>v</sup>. John Climacus.

The codex is surely Constantinopolitan, and most of its miniatures were copied, it would seem, directly after those of Vat. gr. 394. The best evidence for dating is furnished by



## CATALOGUE OF CLIMAX MANUSCRIPTS

the author portrait (Fig. 135), which bears a strikingly close resemblance to the portrait of Luke in Patmos 81, a gospel book dated 1345.<sup>4</sup> In both miniatures the architectural background consists, somewhat irrationally, of a colonnade on top of which rests a gabled aedicular; even the windows and decorative scrollwork are remarkably alike. The Stauronikita codex may accordingly be regarded as a work of the fourteenth century, which agrees with Lambros' dating. The similarity in the two pictures also serves to confirm the derivation of the Climacus portrait from the Luke-type.

Each miniature in Stauronikita 50 is surrounded by an irregular floral pattern, executed in fluid brushwork and giving the effect of a grassy border. This is an embellishment added in the fifteenth century. Identical borders are seen around the evangelist portraits of Iviron 548, which is dated 1433.<sup>5</sup> An ornamented head-piece on fol. 20<sup>r</sup> of the Climax is of the same date; the space was left blank by the original illustrator, and was filled in about a century later. Iviron 548 has a similar decorative panel, with gray-blue rinceaux against a gold background, at the head of Mark's Gospel.

Lambros, *op.cit.*, I, p. 78, no. 915.

C. R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, New York, 1914, pp. 3, 14, 18ff.

Lazarev, *op.cit.*, p. 369.

7. ATHOS, VATOPEDI, COD. 368. 178 folios, 15.3 x 11.5 cm., parchment. *Anno* 1294. (Fig. 21.)

*Contents:*

The Heavenly Ladder.

*Decoration:*

fol. 178<sup>v</sup>. The heavenly ladder.

The manuscript contains two subscriptions. The first, on fol. 1<sup>v</sup>, gives the name of the scribe Tryphon: ἡ βίβλος αὐτῆ δι' ἐξόδου ἐγένετο παρὰ τρύφωνος ἀμαρτωλοῦ τάχα καὶ μοναχοῦ. The second, on fol. 178<sup>r</sup>, supplies the date 1294: ἐτελειώθη(η) μηνὶ μαρτ(ίω) ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ' ἔτους 5ωβ'. The miniature (Fig. 21) is inscribed κλίμαξ θεί(ας) ἀνόδου. The verses written between the rungs of the ladder are the same as those in Coislin 262 (Fig. 20). Indeed the general similarity in the two illustrations is sufficient to prove that the crudely drawn figures of the author and the climbing monks in Vatopedi 368 were added later.

S. Eustratiades and Arcadios, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos*, Cambridge, Mass., 1924, p. 71.

8. ATHOS, VATOPEDI, COD. 376. 484 folios, 12 x 8 cm., parchment. XI-XII century. (Figs. 16-17.)

*Contents:*

The Heavenly Ladder.

<sup>4</sup> G. Jacopi, "Le miniature dei codici di Patmo," *Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII, 1933, part III, p. 578, fig. 71.

<sup>5</sup> F. Dölger, *Mönchsland Athos*, Munich, 1943, pp. 208f., figs. 126-127.



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### *Decoration:*

fol. 14<sup>v</sup>. Author portrait.

fol. 392<sup>v</sup>. Initial II formed of a tabernacle within which a lamp is suspended.

fol. 421<sup>v</sup>. The heavenly ladder.

Ornamental head-pieces on fols. 1<sup>r</sup> and 392<sup>v</sup>.

The manuscript is dated by Eustratiades and Arcadios in the ninth century, which is patently much too early. The miniatures of the author (Fig. 16) and the heavenly ladder (Fig. 17) are typical examples of the iconography developed in the eleventh century, and the style shows them to be of the eleventh or early twelfth.

Eustratiades and Arcadios, *op.cit.*, pp. 71f.

9. MILAN, BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA, COD. B 80 SUP. 320 folios, 22.4 x 17.2 cm., parchment. XI-XII century. (Figs. 25-26.)

### *Contents:*

The *Heavenly Ladder*.

### *Decoration:*

fol. 13<sup>v</sup>. Author portrait.

fol. 14<sup>r</sup>. Ornamental head-piece containing three figures.

Decorated initials and head-pieces.

The ornamentation of the head-piece (Fig. 26) is of a familiar sort in manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A similar geometrical organization of floral motifs is to be seen in the canon tables of Paris gr. 64.<sup>6</sup>

A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, Milan, 1906, I, pp. 120f., no. 107.

Morey, *op.cit.*, pp. 3, 6.

Lazarev, *op.cit.*, p. 316.

10. MILAN, BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA, COD. G 20 SUP. iv + viii + 240 folios, 19.2 x 12.7 cm., paper. XIV century. (Figs. 10-11.)

### *Contents:*

The *Heavenly Ladder*, followed by short excerpts from John Chrysostom, Symeon the New Theologian, etc. On the added folios at the beginning, two sermons by Gregory Nazianzenus.

### *Decoration:*

fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. The heavenly ladder.

fol. 212<sup>v</sup>. Vertical ladder forming part of the table of contents.

In the title-page miniature (Fig. 10) the author wears a blue tunic with a purple scapular and a reddish brown mantle. The garments of Christ are purple and blue. The ladder of the table of contents (Fig. 11) is drawn in red ink, with its rungs numbered from bottom to top. The codex may be dated in the fourteenth century.

<sup>6</sup> J. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine*, Paris-Brussels, 1926, pl. XLIII.

Martini and Bassi, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 460ff., no. 387.

Morey, *op.cit.*, pp. 3, 14.

11. MOSCOW, HISTORICAL MUSEUM, COD. GR. 146 (VLAD. 189). 333 folios, 26 x 21.2 cm., parchment. Anno 1285. (Fig. 13.)

*Contents:*

The *Heavenly Ladder*, and sermons by Ephraim Syrus and John Chrysostom.

*Decoration:*

fol. 278<sup>v</sup>. The heavenly ladder.

fol. 279<sup>r</sup>. Schematic ladder forming part of the table of contents.

The manuscript was written in 1285 ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ (perhaps the monastery of St. Michael in Jerusalem). The colophon on fol. 332<sup>r</sup> reads in part: ἡ παρούσα δέλτος ἐγράφη ἐν ἔτει ςψςγ'. The name of the scribe Theodosius is mentioned in a prayer on fol. 232<sup>v</sup>. The codex belonged to the library of Pantokrator on Mount Athos, and was removed to Moscow in the seventeenth century.

Sabas, *Specimina palaeographica codicum Graecorum et Slavonicorum Bibliothecae Mosquensis Synodalis*, Moscow, 1863, p. 14, no. 146; pl. II, no. 2.

Archimandrite Vladimir, *Sistematicheskoe opisanie rukopisei Moskovskoi Sinodal'noi Biblioteki*, I, *Rukopisi grecheskĭia*, Moscow, 1894, pp. 221f., no. 189.

Vogel and Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber*, p. 132.

G. Cereteli and S. Sobolevski, *Exempla codicum Graecorum*, I, *Codices Mosquenses*, Moscow, 1911, p. 12, pl. xxvii.

Lazarev, *op.cit.*, p. 342.

12. PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, COD. GR. 1069. 106 folios, 24 x 19 cm., parchment. X century. (Fig. 5.)

*Contents:*

The *Heavenly Ladder* (incomplete).

*Decoration:*

fol. 3<sup>v</sup>. Ornamented vertical ladder accompanying the table of contents on the adjoining leaf (fol. 4<sup>r</sup>).

The manuscript was dated by Bordier in the twelfth century, but is incontestably of the tenth. The ornament, as Weitzmann has shown, is South Italian, and may be linked with the Calabrian region. The single miniature (Fig. 5) is executed in brown ink and colored in green, orange, reddish brown, and pale violet. The figures at the top, drawn in black ink, are a later addition.

H. Bordier, *Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1883, pp. 39, 320.

H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1886-98, I, p. 215.

Morey, *op.cit.*, pp. 3, 13, 18ff., fig. 8.

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A. Grabar, *Recherches sur les influences orientales dans l'art balkanique*, Paris, 1928, p. 84.  
K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, p. 84, pl. xci, no. 575.

13. PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, COD. GR. 1158. 256 folios, 15 x 11.2 cm., parchment. XII century. (Fig. 12.)

## Contents:

The *Heavenly Ladder*.

## Decoration:

fol. 256<sup>v</sup>. The heavenly ladder.

Decorated initials and head-pieces.

Unfortunately the single miniature (Fig. 12) is so ruined as to permit no stylistic analysis. But the codex is certainly no later than the twelfth century, which is the date proposed by Bordier and Omont.

Bordier, *op.cit.*, pp. 39, 203f., 318.

Omont, *op.cit.*, I, p. 231.

Morey, *op.cit.*, pp. 3, 13, 17ff.

J. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine*, Paris-Brussels, 1926, p. 39, note 1, and p. 79, notice 21.

14. PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, COD. COISLIN 88. 229 folios, 30 x 23.5 cm., parchment. XI century. (Figs. 18-19.)

## Contents:

The *Heavenly Ladder*.

## Decoration:

fol. 1<sup>v</sup>. Author portrait.

fol. 12<sup>v</sup>. Ornamented ladder forming part of the table of contents.

Decorated initials and titles.

This very handsome manuscript was surely executed in the eleventh century, which is the date assigned to it by Bordier, Devreesse, and Omont. Especially fine is the table of contents (Fig. 19), which is written in gold letters, the ladder at the left being likewise outlined in gold and decorated with a delicate floral pattern of enamel-like brilliance.

The full-page miniature of the author, on the other hand (Fig. 18), is a later addition. The color is predominantly gray-green, a hue which infuses itself even into the blue of the sky. The furniture and portions of the background architecture are of various shades of brown. A similar dependence on gray-green and brown characterizes the evangelist portraits of Vatopedi 938, a gospel book dated 1304.<sup>7</sup> The broad, soft brush-stroke and the highlights on the face and hair also find parallels in this manuscript (especially in the picture of John the Evangelist on fol. 174<sup>v</sup>).

A striking feature of the architectural setting is the semicircular edifice at the left, the upper surface of which is tilted forward so as to give it the shape of a horseshoe. This is a

<sup>7</sup> Eustratiades and Arcadios, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts of Vatopedi*, p. 173. K. Weitzmann, "Constantinopolitan Book Illumination in the Period of the Latin Conquest," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXXVI, 1944, p. 213, fig. 14.

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familiar motif in fourteenth-century Byzantine art. It appears, for example, in the mosaics of Kahrie-Djami, executed between 1310 and 1320.<sup>8</sup> The crowded composition and the fusion of ladder and author portrait within one scene are likewise characteristic of the tendency toward elaboration in the Palaeologan period.

Bordier, *op.cit.*, pp. 51, 318, 320.

Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, III, p. 129.

Morey, *op.cit.*, pp. 3, 6, 18, 21, fig. 3.

A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art*, London, 1939, p. 24, note 1.

R. Devreesse, *Le fonds Coislin* (Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale, II), Paris, 1945, pp. 77f.

15. PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, COD. COISLIN 262. 175 folios, 24.5 x 18.5 cm., parchment. XI-XII century. (Fig. 20.)

## Contents:

The *Heavenly Ladder*, and *Carmina arcana* of Gregory Nazianzenus, with anonymous commentary.

## Decoration:

fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. Diagonal ladder.

fol. 150<sup>v</sup>. Schematic vertical ladder forming part of the table of contents.

The lower portion of the title page (Fig. 20) is torn away. The ladder terminates at the upper right in a hand (?) grasping a two-armed cross, with the inscription  $\iota(\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon)\varsigma$   $\chi(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron)\varsigma$   $\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$  (cf. Laura A 73, Fig. 8). Between the rungs are written the following verses:  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\varsigma$   $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\iota\mu\alpha\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\mu\alpha\iota$   $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$   $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\zeta\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\omega\nu$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\theta(\epsilon)\hat{\omega}$   $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ .  $\upsilon\phi'$   $\eta\acute{\nu}$   $\delta\rho\alpha\mu\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\iota$   $\pi\rho\omicron\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$   $\pi\rho\omicron$ . . . . The same inscription appears in the ladder picture of Vatopedi 368 (Fig. 21). Above and below the ladder is the title:  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon$  (the last two words in fragmentary form owing to the tearing of the page). The codex is dated by Bordier in the eleventh century, and, with greater probability, by Devreesse and Omont in the twelfth.

Bordier, *op.cit.*, pp. 51, 320.

Omont, *op.cit.*, III, p. 164.

Devreesse, *op.cit.*, pp. 239ff.

16. PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, COD. COISLIN 263. 165 folios, 22 x 16.5 cm., parchment. Anno 1059. (Figs. 217-224.)

## Contents:

The *Heavenly Ladder*, and the testament of Eustathius Boilas.

## Decoration:

fol. 7<sup>r</sup>. The spiritual tablets.

fol. 7<sup>v</sup>. Initial T represented by a figure carrying a *semantron*; ladder of one rung (chap. 1).

<sup>8</sup> F. I. Shmit, *Kahrie-Djami*, Sofia, 1906, Album, pl. xxviii.

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- fol. 8<sup>r</sup>. Two ladders with monks climbing.
- fol. 8<sup>v</sup>. John of Raithu handing his letter to a messenger.
- fol. 9<sup>r</sup>. John Climacus receiving the letter from the messenger.
- fol. 9<sup>v</sup>. Two ladders with monks climbing.
- fols. 10<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>. Table of contents, with ornamented ladder at left of each page.
- fol. 25<sup>r</sup>. Seated monk addressing two others standing before him (chap. iv).
- fol. 72<sup>v</sup>. Seated monk eating (chap. xiv).
- fol. 142<sup>v</sup>. Monk in orant posture (chap. xxix).
- fol. 144<sup>v</sup>. Monk with upraised arm (chap. xxx).
- fol. 147<sup>v</sup>. Monk holding book and cross (*Homily to the Pastor*).
- fol. 158<sup>r</sup>. Ladder serving as table of contents.

Figured initials and schematic ladders.

A document of unusual interest in this manuscript is the testament of Eustathius Boilas, a Byzantine court dignitary holding the rank of protospatharius (fols. 159-165). It was published by Beneshevich (cf. bibliography below). A subscription on fol. 157<sup>v</sup> relates that the codex was written in the year 1059 by Theodoulos, monk and presbyter of the monastery of the Virgin of Salem, on the orders of the same Eustathius; both, it is noted, are Cappadocians: ἐτελιοθη ἡ παναρετος κλημαξ προς τάξη ευσταθίου π(ρωτο)σπαθαρίου καὶ ὑπάτου τοῦ βοηλα διὰ χειρος ἐμοῦ θεοδούλου μοναχου καὶ πρ(εσβυτέρου) τῆς ὑπ(ερ)αγίας θ(εοτό)κου σαλημ, ἀμφωτεροι καππαδοκαι . . . ἔτ(ους) 565 ζ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ' μην(ὸς) ἀπριλίου δ' ὠρ(α) ζ'. . . Devreesse suggests that the manuscript may have been written in Mesopotamia after a Cappadocian model (a certain John Douketzes is mentioned in the subscription as ruling over Edessa). Unfortunately, owing to a lack of comparative material, stylistic analysis does not help to fix its provenance more closely.

The miniatures are the work of at least three hands. The first, and most accomplished, was the artist who painted the opening full-page scenes (Figs. 217, 219, and 220), which surpass all the others in their sureness and monumentality. The remaining frontispiece miniature (Fig. 218) is to be ascribed to a second hand, probably working in imitation of the first. The figures are smaller and less fluent, and the ensemble not as well spaced on the page. The hand of a third, and very inferior, artist can be discerned in the miniature of chapter iv (Fig. 222), and the same crude and hesitant style is observable in the figured initials on fols. 49<sup>v</sup> and 57<sup>r</sup>. The marginal figures of the first, fourteenth, and twenty-ninth homilies (Figs. 221, 224, and 223) are surely all by one hand; their poor state of preservation makes it impossible to be certain whether they are the work of the second miniaturist (cf. Fig. 218) or, as seems more likely, of yet another, fourth hand. There is, finally, no reason to suppose that all the illustrations are not contemporary.

Bordier, *op.cit.*, pp. 51, 318.

Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, III, p. 164.

*idem*, *Fac-similés des manuscrits grecs datés de la Bibliothèque Nationale du IX<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1891, pp. 5f., pl. xxvi, no. 2.

H. Lebègue, "Nouveaux problèmes de comput," *Revue de philologie*, xv, 1891, p. 136.

V. Beneshevich, in *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvêshcheniâ*, ix, 1907, Classical Philology, pp. 219-231.

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Vogel and Gardthausen, *op.cit.*, p. 134.

Morey, *op.cit.*, pp. 3, 13, fig. 7.

Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, fasc. iv, Boston, 1935, pls. 285-287.

Devreesse, *op.cit.*, pp. 241f.

17. PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, COD. COISLIN 265. 261 folios, 28.5 x 21.5 cm., parchment. Anno 1037. (Fig. 7.)

## Contents:

The Heavenly Ladder.

## Decoration:

fol. 240<sup>v</sup>. Vertical ladder forming a table of contents.

Ornamented head-pieces and initials.

A colophon on fol. 259<sup>v</sup> tells that the manuscript was written by the monk John in the year 1037: ἐγράφη τὸ θεόπνευσ(τον) τοῦτο βιβλίον διὰ χειρὸς ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ ταπεινοῦ ξένου ἀπὸ κτίσaiως κόσμου ἔτος 5φμέ' ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ε' ἐπὶ ἀνακτ(ος) μιχ(αήλ) φιλοχρ(ίστου). Devreesse, relying on the script and the coloring of the ornamental features, concludes that the codex is Anatolian in origin. It belonged at one time to the monastery of Esphigmenu on Athos (notes on fols. 98<sup>r</sup> and 260<sup>r</sup>).

Bordier, *op.cit.*, pp. 51, 320.

Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, III, p. 165.

*idem*, *Fac-similés des manuscrits grecs datés*, p. 4, pl. xvi.

Vogel and Gardthausen, *op.cit.*, p. 205.

Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine*, p. 39, note 1.

Lake, *op.cit.*, fasc. iv, pls. 261, 264.

Devreesse, *op.cit.*, pp. 244f.

18. PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, COD. SUPPL. GR. 1279. 311 folios, 21.5 x 15.5 cm., paper. XVI-XVII century. (Figs. 27-28.)

## Contents:

The Heavenly Ladder.

## Decoration:

fol. 8<sup>v</sup>. Monastic saint with outstretched hands (John of Raithu?).

fol. 9<sup>r</sup>. Monastic saint holding an open book (John Climacus?).

fol. 9<sup>v</sup>. Title page with ornamental border.

fol. 10<sup>v</sup>. Ornamental head-piece (chap. 1).

The two saints' portraits, in pen and ink (Figs. 27-28), were undoubtedly meant to be painted, as the completed decorative panels on fols. 9<sup>v</sup> and 10<sup>v</sup> indicate. The manuscript was dated by Omont in the seventeenth century, but may be earlier.

Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, iv, Appendix, p. 13.

19. PATMOS, MONASTERY OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, COD. 122. 241 folios, 33.5 x 25.5 cm., parchment. XI century. (Fig. 236.)



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### Contents:

The *Heavenly Ladder*.

### Decoration:

fol. A<sup>v</sup>-B<sup>r</sup>. Two full-page miniatures of the ladder, in two sections of fifteen rungs meeting at the top; between the steps, thirty little scenes illustrating each chapter.

All authorities assign the manuscript to the eleventh century. The illustrated table of contents (Fig. 236), seen also in Vat. gr. 1754, must therefore be contemporary with the larger cycles of Vat. gr. 394 and the Princeton manuscript. Diehl believes this codex to be one of the two copies of the Climax mentioned in the catalogue of Patmos of the year 1201. It may even have formed part of the original library assembled in 1088 by Christodoulus, founder of the monastery.

J. Sakkelion, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, Athens, 1890, p. 71.

C. Diehl, "Le trésor et la bibliothèque de Patmos au commencement du 13e siècle," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, I, 1892, p. 519, note 14.

G. Jacopi, "Le miniature dei codici di Patmo," *Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII, 1933, part III, p. 579, figs. 87-88.

Lazarev, *Istoriia vizantiiskoi zhivopisi*, p. 316.

20. PRINCETON, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, GARRETT COLLECTION, NO. 16. 209 folios, 27.2 x 19.8 cm., parchment. Anno 1081. (Figs. 29-66.)

### Contents:

The *Heavenly Ladder*.

### Decoration:

fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. Ornamented head-piece. John of Raithu handing his letter to a messenger (John of Raithu's letter).

fol. 2<sup>r</sup>. John Climacus receiving the letter (the author's reply).

fol. 4<sup>r</sup>. The ladder, and the author exhorting the monks (table of contents).

fol. 8<sup>v</sup>. The spiritual tablets.

fol. 9<sup>r</sup>. Miniature cut out (chap. I).

fol. 15<sup>v</sup>. Standing monk (chap. II).

fol. 18<sup>v</sup>. Miniature cut out (chap. III).

fol. 22<sup>r</sup>. Sleeping monk and a demon (chap. III, part 2).

fol. 23<sup>v</sup>. An abbot commanding two monks to carry water (chap. IV).

fol. 52<sup>r</sup>. Miniature cut out (chap. V).

fol. 63<sup>v</sup>. Dying monk, with mourners grouped about him and an angel receiving his soul (chap. VI).

fol. 66<sup>v</sup>. Weeping monk sitting in a cave (chap. VII).

fol. 76<sup>r</sup>. Monk guided by an angel (chap. VIII).

fol. 81<sup>r</sup>. Monk attacked by a demon (chap. IX).

fol. 82<sup>v</sup>. Monk whispering to another (chap. X).

fol. 85<sup>r</sup>. Two monks, one gesticulating and the other enjoining silence (chap. XI).

fol. 86<sup>r</sup>. Monk turning away from a demon (chap. XII).

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- fol. 87<sup>r</sup>. Seated monk tempted by a demon (chap. xiii).
  - fol. 89<sup>r</sup>. Miniature cut out (chap. xiv).
  - fol. 93<sup>v</sup>. Seated monk holding a book, and a demon behind him (chap. xiv, part 2).
  - fol. 94<sup>r</sup>. Monk guided by an angel (chap. xv).
  - fol. 107<sup>v</sup>. A monk as a money-lender, aided by a second monk and a demon (chap. xvi).
  - fol. 108<sup>v</sup>. A monk in the guise of John the Baptist (chap. xvii).
  - fol. 110<sup>r</sup>. Standing monk (chap. xviii).
  - fol. 112<sup>r</sup>. Three monks sleeping in a cave (chap. xix).
  - fol. 113<sup>v</sup>. Four monks praying and reading in caves (chap. xx).
  - fol. 115<sup>v</sup>. A monk threatened by a demon (chap. xxi).
  - fol. 116<sup>v</sup>. Aged monk looking in a mirror (chap. xxii).
  - fol. 121<sup>v</sup>. Hermit in a cave praying to an icon of Christ, and a demon flying behind him (chap. xxiii).
  - fol. 125<sup>r</sup>. Monk facing a demon (chap. xxiii, part 2).
  - fol. 128<sup>r</sup>. Two praying monks; above, a medallion of Christ has been cut out (chap. xxiv).
  - fol. 130<sup>v</sup>. Miniature cut out (chap. xxv).
  - fol. 140<sup>r</sup>. Two cave-hermits, one of whom blesses a monk kneeling before him (chap. xxvi).
  - fol. 154<sup>r</sup>. Kneeling monk receiving a scroll from the hand of God; an ornamented initial containing a stag (chap. xxvi, part 2).
  - fol. 165<sup>r</sup>. The monastery of Mount Sinai (chap. xxvi, part 3).
  - fol. 169<sup>v</sup>. A hermit carving spoons in a cave, and beside him another reading; other hermits looking out from stone structures (chap. xxvii).
  - fol. 173<sup>r</sup>. Two hermits in caves, and a third in a stone building (chap. xxvii, part 2).
  - fol. 173<sup>v</sup>. Miniature cut out (chap. xxvii).
  - fol. 180<sup>v</sup>. Praying monk; above, a medallion of Christ has been cut out (chap. xxviii).
  - fol. 187<sup>v</sup>. Christ grasping the hand of a monk rising from a sarcophagus (chap. xxix).
  - fol. 190<sup>v</sup>. Miniature cut out (chap. xxx).
  - fol. 194<sup>r</sup>. The heavenly ladder.
  - fol. 194<sup>v</sup>. John Climacus and John of Raithu (*Homily to the Pastor*).
- Decorated initials.

There is a colophon, with the date 1081, on fol. 208<sup>r</sup>: ἐτελειώθη(η) ἡ βίβλος αὐτῆς μὴ(νὶ) σέπτ(εμβ)ρ(ίω) ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) εἴ ἔτους 545. γραφέεσα διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντ(ων) ὠφέλει(αν). Although there is no indication of the place of origin, the delicate and refined quality of the miniatures leaves little doubt that the manuscript is the product of a scriptorium in Constantinople. These illustrations possess the rather dry elegance that characterizes the style of the capital in the later eleventh century. As compared with those of Vat. gr. 394, they have, perhaps, less fluency and rhythmic grace: backgrounds and details of setting are suppressed, and the slender forms of the monks seem poised, as if deprived of both bodily weight and animation. Something approaching this style is seen in the illustrations of a Gregory manuscript in Paris (Bibl. Nat., cod. gr. 533), which must be

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of about the same date. The scene of St. John addressing the monks on fol. 4<sup>r</sup> of the Climax (Fig. 31) closely resembles the marginal miniature of Gregory teaching on fol. 276<sup>v</sup> of the Paris manuscript.<sup>9</sup>

De Ricci and Friend have both remarked that the fine morocco binding, which is certainly old, may well be the original one of the eleventh century.

The Princeton Climax was once the property of the monastery of Kosinitza in Macedonia, where it bore the signature codex 112, and where it was seen in 1885 by Papadopoulos-Kerameus. Some thirty-five years later the manuscript came into the possession of the dealer Joseph Baer, at which time its identity was pointed out by Paul Maas. It was purchased from Baer by Robert Garrett of Baltimore, and was later presented by him, together with other manuscripts, to the library of Princeton University.

A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Εκθεσις παλαιογραφικῶν καὶ φιλολογικῶν ἐρευνῶν ἐν Θράκῃ καὶ Μακεδονίᾳ, in 'Ο ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος, xvii, 1882-83 (Constantinople, 1886), Appendix, pp. 27, 28, 31.

*Neue Erwerbungen des Antiquariates Joseph Baer und Co., Codices manu scripti saeculorum IX ad XIX*, xiv, Frankfurt a. M., 1920-21, Heft 1-2, pp. 12-17, pls. vi-viii.

P. Maas, in *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, II, 1921, p. 219f.

*idem*, in *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, LVII, N. F. xxxiii, 1921-22, p. 475.

*A Catalogue of One Hundred Fine and Valuable Books and Manuscripts, Prints and Drawings*, no. 700, Joseph Baer and Co., Frankfurt a. M., 1924, pp. 16-19, pls. I, vi-viii.

S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Mediaeval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, New York, 1935-40, I, p. 868, no. 16 (the date is here given inaccurately).

A. M. Friend, Jr., in *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, III, 1941-42, pp. 133-135 and plate.

*Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Catalogue of an Exhibition held at the Baltimore Museum of Art), Baltimore, 1947, p. 139, pl. xcv, no. 708.

J. R. Martin, "The Death of Ephraim in Byzantine and Early Italian Painting," *Art Bulletin*, xxxiii, 1951, pp. 220ff., fig. 8.

21. ROME, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, COD. GR. 394. vi + 216 folios, 23.5 x 16.9 cm., parchment. XI century. (Figs. 67-132.)

## Contents:

The Heavenly Ladder, and the *Centuriae de Caritate* of Maximus Confessor.

## Decoration:

fol. F<sup>v</sup>. The heavenly ladder.

fol. 5<sup>r</sup>. John Climacus receiving the letter (the author's reply to John of Raithu).

fol. 6<sup>v</sup>. Author portrait.

fol. 7<sup>r</sup>. The author addresses the people; a monk flees from Life to follow Dispassionateness (chap. 1).

fol. 7<sup>v</sup>. The author addressing the people (chap. 1).

<sup>9</sup> Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pl. cv, nos. 14-15.

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- fol. 12<sup>r</sup>. (a) The monk leaves Life and his family. (b) The monk on the first rung of the ladder, with the personification of Dispassionateness (chap. i).<sup>10</sup>
- fol. 12<sup>v</sup>. The author preaching; the labors of the months and the Last Judgment (chap. ii).
- fol. 14<sup>v</sup>. (a) Monk on the second rung (chap. ii). (b) The monk follows Pilgrimage (chap. iii).
- fol. 17<sup>v</sup>. The monk follows Pilgrimage. Demons tempt a sleeping monk (chap. iii).
- fol. 18<sup>r</sup>. Monk grasping at his shadow (chap. iii).
- fol. 18<sup>v</sup>. Monk on third rung (chap. iii).
- fol. 19<sup>r</sup>. The author and monks with David, Pilgrimage, and Obedience (chap. iv).
- fol. 20<sup>v</sup>-21<sup>v</sup>. Five marginal illustrations of the story of the obedient robber (chap. iv).
- fol. 41<sup>r</sup>. The monks assemble before the author (chap. v).
- fol. 41<sup>v</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>. Nineteen miniatures illustrating the life of the penitents (chap. v).
- fol. 49<sup>r</sup>. St. John and the abbot (chap. v).
- fol. 49<sup>v</sup>. Praying monks (chap. v).
- fol. 51<sup>v</sup>. Monk on fifth rung (chap. v).
- fol. 54<sup>v</sup>. (a) Monk on sixth rung (chap. vi). (b) The author, with two monks and Silence (chap. vii).
- fol. 62<sup>r</sup>. (a) Monk on seventh rung (chap. vii). (b) Teaching scene, with Placidity and Meekness (chap. viii).
- fol. 66<sup>r</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder, with Malice and Humility (chap. viii). (b) Teaching scene, with Malice (chap. ix).
- fol. 67<sup>v</sup>. (a) Malice hinders the monk on the ladder (chap. ix). (b) Teaching scene, with Slander (chap. x).
- fol. 69<sup>v</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder standing on prostrate form of Slander (chap. x). (b) Teaching scene, with Talkativeness and Slander (chap. xi).
- fol. 71<sup>r</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder, with Malice, Slander, Charity, and Silence (chap. xi). (b) Teaching scene, with David (chap. xii).
- fol. 72<sup>r</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder, with Falsehood (chap. xii). (b) The author teaching, with Sloth lying at his feet (chap. xiii).
- fol. 74<sup>r</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder, and Sloth lying at the foot (chap. xiii). (b) Teaching scene, with Gluttony (chap. xiv).
- fol. 78<sup>r</sup>. The Temptation and Expulsion (chap. xiv).
- fol. 78<sup>v</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder, with Tranquillity and Temperance (chap. xiv). (b) Teaching scene (chap. xv).
- fol. 89<sup>v</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder guided by an angel; a second monk points to the bound personification of Nature (chap. xv). (b) Teaching scene, with a female figure driving away two others (chap. xvi).
- fol. 90<sup>v</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder, with arms uplifted to Christ (chap. xvi). (b) The author points to Job receiving a wreath from an angel (chap. xvii).
- fol. 92<sup>r</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder (chap. xvii). (b) Teaching scene, with Insensibility (chap. xviii).

<sup>10</sup> The letters (a) and (b) refer to the scenes on the left and right respectively.

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- fol. 94<sup>r</sup>. (a) The monk is dragged from the ladder by the vices (chap. xviii). (b) Teaching scene; at the right, Prayer beats Sleep (chap. xix).
- fol. 95<sup>r</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder, with Prayer (chap. xix). (b) Teaching scene (chap. xx).
- fol. 95<sup>v</sup>. Four vignettes illustrating methods of vigilance (chap. xx).
- fol. 97<sup>r</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder, with Vainglory and Unbelief (chap. xx). (b) The author points to Timidity (chap. xxi).
- fol. 98<sup>r</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder, with a demon and an angel (chap. xxi). (b) St. John indicates Vainglory and Pride (chap. xxii).
- fol. 102<sup>r</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder, with Vainglory and Pride (chap. xxii). (b) The author points to Pride (chap. xxiii).
- fol. 105<sup>r</sup>. Monk on ladder. The author indicates Vainglory, Pride, and Blasphemy (chap. xxiii).
- fol. 107<sup>r</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder, with Meekness and Simplicity (chap. xxiii). (b) The author points out Guilelessness and Wickedness (chap. xxiv).
- fol. 109<sup>v</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder (chap. xxiv). (b) Humility bows before the author (chap. xxv).
- fol. 117<sup>r</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder (chap. xxv). (b) Teaching scene (chap. xxvi).
- fol. 123<sup>r</sup>. Monk on ladder. Teaching scene. In the margin, a stag drinking (chap. xxvi).
- fol. 132<sup>r</sup>. Teaching scene (chap. xxvi).
- fol. 135<sup>v</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder (chap. xxvi). (b) Teaching scene (chap. xxvii).
- fol. 138<sup>r</sup>. Teaching scene (chap. xxvii).
- fol. 138<sup>v</sup>. St. John points to a gold ladder of eight rungs (chap. xxvii).
- fol. 144<sup>r</sup>. Teaching scene, with Devotion and Prayer (chap. xxviii).
- fol. 149<sup>r</sup>. Prayer offers a wreath to the monk on the ladder; two demons threaten him with bow and arrow (chap. xxviii).
- fol. 149<sup>v</sup>. The author indicates Tranquillity in a mandorla (chap. xxix).
- fol. 151<sup>v</sup>. (a) Monk on ladder bowing before Christ (chap. xxix). (b) The author points to Tranquillity with Faith, Hope, and Charity (chap. xxx).
- fol. 154<sup>r</sup>. Faith, Hope, and Charity offer wreaths to the monk on the thirtieth rung (chap. xxx).
- fol. 155<sup>r</sup>. The monk at the top of the ladder bows before the feet of Christ. The author stands at the right.

Vat. gr. 394 was written by the scribe Constantine, according to a subscription on fol. 213<sup>v</sup>: *εὐχου κυρ νίκ(ων) καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ κωνσταντ(ί)ν(ου) καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦ*. The year and locality are not stated. That the manuscript is Constantinopolitan there is no room for doubt. It can, moreover, be dated with reasonable exactitude by virtue of its close stylistic affinity to Vat. gr. 342, a psalter in which the Easter tables commence with the year 1088.<sup>11</sup> If the scene of the Crossing of the Red Sea on fol. 246<sup>v</sup> of the psalter is compared with the miniature on fol. 12<sup>v</sup> of the Climax (Fig. 73), it will be observed that the rendering of the figures and draperies is remarkably similar. A particular feature to be noted is the identical manner in which the slight bending of the legs is indicated by

<sup>11</sup> Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, fasc. viii, Boston, 1937, p. 8, pls. 544-545.



a strong highlight on the kneecap and a contrasting dark fold below it. Similarly, the wavy ground line in the psalter miniature, with its diminutive trees and curling tendrils, finds parallels in codex 394 (cf. Fig. 75). The style of the two manuscripts is so closely related that we may safely assign to Vat. gr. 394 a date in the last years of the eleventh century, or in the earliest years of the twelfth.

A notation on fol. 213<sup>v</sup> (cf. Devreesse in bibliography below) tells that in the fifteenth century the manuscript was in Moscow, in the library of Photius, metropolitan of Russia. But it is probable that it remained in Constantinople at least until the fourteenth century, at which time, as I have tried to show, it was copied by the miniaturist of Stauronikita 50. From this circumstance it may be further surmised that the original frontispiece illustration of the heavenly ladder was still present in the manuscript, and that what we see in the Stauronikita miniature (Fig. 133) is a faithful copy thereof. The existing picture in the Vatican Codex (Fig. 67) was in all likelihood added not much later.

The unusual iconography of this miniature would in itself suggest the Palaeologan epoch, when the tendency toward greater complexity was most marked. But a fourteenth-century date is also indicated by certain stylistic features, notably the use of drapery folds for expressive purposes. It can be seen, for example, how the book held by Christ is emphasized by being enclosed within a pattern of zigzag folds; how the restless flight of the angel at the head of the ladder is suggested by the fluttering tip of his garment; and how the mantle of the uppermost climbing monk billows out behind him as he crouches beseechingly before the Lord. These details recall the agitated treatment of drapery which is characteristic of Palaeologan illumination, and which may be observed in the illustrations of a fourteenth-century Gregory manuscript in Paris (Bibl. Nat., cod. gr. 543).<sup>12</sup>

The folios have been inaccurately renumbered in pencil. Like Devreesse, I have followed the old numbers.

J. B. Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'art par les monumens*, Paris, 1823, III, Peinture, pp. 57f., v, pl. LII.

J. Labarte, *Histoire des arts industriels au moyen âge et à l'époque de la renaissance*, Paris, 1864-66, III, p. 68.

The Palaeographical Society, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions* (ed. E. A. Bond, E. M. Thompson, and G. F. Warner), series 1, London, 1873-83, 1, pl. 155.

N. Kondakov, *Istoriia vizantiiskago iskusstva i ikonografii*, Odessa, 1876, pp. 230ff.

*idem*, *Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures*, Paris, 1886-91, II, pp. 130ff.

J. J. Tikkanen, "Eine illustrierte Klimax-Handschrift der Vatikanischen Bibliothek," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, XIX, 1890, no. 2, pp. 4ff.

S. Beissel, *Vaticanische Miniaturen*, Freiburg i. Br., 1893, pp. 24f., pl. XIV B.

K. Krumbacher, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, IV, 1895, p. 225.

A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1901-39, II, p. 478, figs. 343-344.

A. Muñoz, in *L'arte*, VII, 1904, p. 131.

G. Millet, "L'art byzantin," in A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, Paris, 1905-29, I, pp. 248f.

<sup>12</sup> Omont, *op.cit.*, pls. CXIX-CXXV.



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- A. Muñoz, *Studi d'arte medioevale*, Rome, 1909, pp. 9f.  
 Vogel and Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber*, p. 254.  
 O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, p. 480.  
 A. Reuter, *Beiträge zu einer Ikonographie des Todes*, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 49ff.  
 A. B. Cook, *Zeus; a Study in Ancient Religion*, Cambridge, 1914-40, II, p. 867, fig. 803.  
 Morey, *East Christian Paintings*, pp. 3ff., figs. 1-2.  
 O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, Potsdam, 1924, II, p. 536.  
 C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, Paris, 1926, II, p. 640.  
 Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine*, p. 39.  
 H. Gerstinger, *Die griechische Buchmalerei*, Vienna, 1926, p. 28, fig. 17.  
 J. J. Tikkanen, *Studien über die Farbengebung in der mittelalterlichen Buchmalerei*, Helsingfors, 1933, p. 156, note 1.  
 A. Heimann, "L'iconographie de la Trinité," *L'art chrétien*, I, 1934, pp. 39f.  
 R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, II, Rome, 1937, pp. 93f.  
 P. Buberl and H. Gerstinger, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften*, II (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, new series, IV, part 4), Leipzig, 1938, pp. 22, 36, 51.  
 Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices*, pp. 22ff., pl. XII, nos. 23-24.  
 Lazarev, *op.cit.*, pp. 112, 314, 315; pls. 142, 150, nos. 2-3, and XXIV, no. 1.  
 Martin, "The Death of Ephraim," pp. 220ff., figs. 6-7.

22. ROME, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, COD. GR. 1754. 195 folios, 21 x 16 cm., parchment. XII-XIII century. (Figs. 237-277.)

## Contents:

The *Heavenly Ladder*, preceded by the Penitential Canon based on the fifth chapter.

## Decoration:

- fol. 1<sup>v</sup>. Table of contents, with two ladders of fifteen rungs arranged in the form of an arch. Between the rungs, thirty little scenes illustrating each chapter.  
 fol. 2<sup>r</sup>. The heavenly ladder.  
 fol. 2<sup>v</sup>. Author portrait.  
 fol. 3<sup>r</sup>. John Climacus teaching.  
 fols. 3<sup>v</sup>-19<sup>r</sup>. Thirty-two scenes illustrating the verses of the Canon:  
     fol. 3<sup>v</sup>. St. John standing before the monks (Ode I, 1).  
     fol. 4<sup>r</sup>. Penitents standing in vigilance (Ode I, 2).  
     fol. 4<sup>v</sup>. Monks praying to the arc of heaven (Ode I, 3).  
     fol. 5<sup>r</sup>. The Virgin praying for the penitents, whose arms are tied behind them (Ode I, 4).  
     fol. 5<sup>v</sup>. Seated penitents (Ode III, 1).  
     fol. 12<sup>r</sup>.<sup>13</sup> Penitents beating their breasts (Ode III, 2).  
     fol. 12<sup>v</sup>. Seven kneeling penitents (Ode III, 3).  
     fol. 6<sup>r</sup>. The Virgin addresses the monks, who tear their hair and clutch their faces (Ode III, 4).

<sup>13</sup> Fol. 12 is misplaced. For purposes of clarity the illustrations are here listed in the original order.

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- fol. 6<sup>v</sup>. Seven penitents whose hands are held to their mouths (Ode iv, 1).
- fol. 7<sup>r</sup>. Sorrowing monks (Ode iv, 2).
- fol. 7<sup>v</sup>. Six seated penitents (Ode iv, 3).
- fol. 8<sup>r</sup>. The Virgin addresses the monks (Ode iv, 4).
- fol. 8<sup>v</sup>. Four seated penitents, their heads sunk between their knees (Ode v, 1).
- fol. 9<sup>r</sup>. The monks strike their foreheads on the ground (Ode v, 2).
- fol. 9<sup>v</sup>. Six sorrowing penitents (Ode v, 3).
- fol. 10<sup>r</sup>. The Virgin addresses the monks, whose hands are tied behind them (Ode v, 4).
- fol. 10<sup>v</sup>. Five seated penitents drinking from cups (Ode vi, 1).
- fol. 11<sup>r</sup>. Four skeletal penitents seated (Ode vi, 2).
- fol. 11<sup>v</sup>. Five monks whose tongues hang from their mouths (Ode vi, 3).
- fol. 13<sup>r</sup>. The monks extend their arms toward the Virgin (Ode vi, 4).
- fol. 13<sup>v</sup>. Penitents shivering in the cold (Ode vii, 1).
- fol. 14<sup>r</sup>. Penitents sipping water from cups (Ode vii, 2).
- fol. 14<sup>v</sup>. Penitents tasting bread (Ode vii, 3).
- fol. 15<sup>r</sup>. The Virgin prays to God for the penitents, all of whom look down (Ode vii, 4).
- fol. 15<sup>v</sup>. Five monks questioning one another (Ode viii, 1).
- fol. 16<sup>r</sup>. A dying monk is questioned by his fellows (Ode viii, 2).
- fol. 16<sup>v</sup>. The monks listen to the words of the dying one (Ode viii, 3).
- fol. 17<sup>r</sup>. The Virgin offers encouragement to the penitents (Ode viii, 4).
- fol. 17<sup>v</sup>. The monks stretch out their hands to Christ (Ode ix, 1).
- fol. 18<sup>r</sup>. Christ beckons to the penitents to enter Paradise (Ode ix, 2).
- fol. 18<sup>v</sup>. The penitents in Paradise give thanks to Christ (Ode ix, 3).
- fol. 19<sup>r</sup>. The Virgin offers thanks to God for the monks in Paradise (Ode ix, 4).
- fol. 20<sup>r</sup>. Decorated initial with the figures of John Climacus and Christ (John of Raithu's letter).
- fol. 23<sup>r</sup>. Five marginal miniatures of the "friends and enemies of God" (chap. i).
- fol. 29<sup>r</sup>. A figure reaching up to heaven (chap. ii).
- fol. 71<sup>v</sup>. Weeping monks (chap. vii).

Stylistically, the most striking thing about the miniatures is their harsh, expressionistic realism. Something resembling this forceful rendering of emotion is to be seen in the frescoes of the monastery church of Nerez in Serbia, dated in the year 1164. In the painting of the Lamentation,<sup>14</sup> for example, the outspoken expressions of grief on the faces of the Virgin and St. John, largely effected by the pronounced contraction of the brows, are comparable to the contorted features of the penitents in the Vatican manuscript (cf. especially Fig. 270). It is on this basis that I propose a date in the late twelfth or thirteenth century for codex 1754.

From the fact that several miniatures are not completed, it is possible to observe the

<sup>14</sup> N. Okunev, "La découverte des anciennes fresques du monastère de Nerez," *Slavia; časopis pro slovanskou filologii*, vi, 1927, pp. 603-609. P. Muratoff, *La peinture byzantine*, Paris, 1928, pl. CLIV.

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technical procedure involved; Tikkanen, in his notice on the manuscript, has described the successive stages by which the illustrations were painted.

Tikkanen, "Eine illustrierte Klimax-Handschrift," *passim*.

Krumbacher, in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, iv, 1895, p. 225.

Morey, *op.cit.*, pp. 3, 6ff., figs. 4-6.

Wulff, *op.cit.*, II, p. 536.

Ebersolt, *op.cit.*, p. 83.

Tikkanen, *Studien über die Farbengebung*, pp. 125, 155f., 166.

Katzenellenbogen, *op.cit.*, p. 24, note 1.

Lazarev, *op.cit.*, p. 320.

23. ROME, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, COD. GR. 2147. 23 folios, 19.6 x 13 cm., paper. XVI-XVII century. (Figs. 172-173.)

## Contents:

No text, but a series of illustrations copied from those of Vat. gr. 394.

## Decoration:

- fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. Copy after Vat. gr. 394, fol. 7<sup>r</sup>.
- fol. 2<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fol. 7<sup>v</sup>.
- fol. 3<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>.
- fol. 4<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>.
- fol. 5<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fol. 14<sup>v</sup>.
- fol. 6<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fol. 19<sup>r</sup>.
- fol. 7<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fol. 20<sup>v</sup>.
- fol. 8<sup>r</sup>. Three scenes copied after Vat. gr. 394, fols. 21<sup>r</sup> and 21<sup>v</sup>.
- fol. 9<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fol. 41<sup>r</sup>.
- fol. 10<sup>r</sup>. Three scenes. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fols. 41<sup>v</sup> and 42<sup>r</sup>.
- fol. 11<sup>r</sup>. Four scenes. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fols. 42<sup>v</sup> and 43<sup>r</sup>.
- fol. 12<sup>r</sup>. Four scenes. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fols. 44<sup>v</sup>, 45<sup>r</sup>, and 46<sup>r</sup>.
- fol. 13<sup>r</sup>. Four scenes. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fols. 43<sup>r</sup>, 43<sup>v</sup>, and 44<sup>r</sup>.
- fol. 14<sup>r</sup>. Three scenes. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fols. 46<sup>v</sup> and 47<sup>r</sup>.
- fol. 15<sup>r</sup>. Three scenes. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fols. 48<sup>v</sup> and 95<sup>v</sup>.
- fol. 16<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fol. 54<sup>v</sup>.
- fol. 17<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fol. 62<sup>r</sup>.
- fol. 18<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fol. 66<sup>r</sup>.
- fol. 19<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fol. 69<sup>v</sup>.
- fol. 20<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fol. 71<sup>r</sup>.
- fol. 21<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fol. 72<sup>r</sup>.
- fol. 22<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Vat. gr. 394, fol. 74<sup>r</sup>.
- fol. 23<sup>r</sup>. Faint preparatory sketch for copy after Vat. gr. 394, fol. 78<sup>r</sup>.

The miniatures, which are executed in ink and colored wash, have plainly been copied from those of codex 394. All the finesse has been lost, and the colors merely approximate those of the model, yellow, for example, being generally substituted for gold. The task

of copying was evidently abandoned before it was half complete, as the last, unfinished drawing on fol. 23<sup>r</sup> confirms. The work is probably to be dated in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Devreesse believes it to be of the latter. Despite their fidelity to the original, the miniatures are obviously not Byzantine, but are by a western hand. This is also indicated by the Latin chapter-titles accompanying many of the illustrations. The codex invites comparison with Paris gr. 2737,<sup>15</sup> a manuscript of the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian, written in Paris in 1554, the miniatures of which are copied from those in Marc. gr. 479, of the eleventh century. Because the present numbering system in the book is both inaccurate and confusing, I have here merely counted the folios in succession from beginning to end.

Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, II, p. 94.

24. ROME, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, COD. CHIS. GR. R IV 7. 168 folios, 20.6 x 15.8 cm., parchment. X century. (Fig. 9.)

*Contents:*

Portions of the *De perfectione spirituali capita centum* of Diadochus; the *Heavenly Ladder*; and portions of the *Doctrinae* of Dorotheus.

*Decoration:*

fol. 115<sup>v</sup>. Table of contents, with an ornamented ladder, at the head of which is Christ. Head-pieces with interlace ornament.

For this manuscript, which is unquestionably South Italian, Cavalieri proposes Grottaferrata as the place of origin. The interlace of the table of contents, colored red, green, yellow, and pale violet (Fig. 9), is analogous to the decorations of Vat. gr. 2138, a gospel book written in Capua in 991.<sup>16</sup> The Chigi Climax may thus be regarded as a product of the Capuan region of the late tenth century. The face of Christ has been redrawn.

P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Graeci Chisiani et Borgiani*, Rome, 1927, pp. 6ff.

25. ROME, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, COD. ROSSIANUS 251. 277 folios, 26.2 x 21.5 cm., parchment. XI-XII century. (Figs. 225-235.)

*Contents:*

The *Heavenly Ladder*.

*Decoration:*

fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. John of Raithu handing his letter to John Climacus (John of Raithu's letter).

fol. 2<sup>v</sup>. John Climacus and John of Raithu (the author's reply).

fol. 5<sup>r</sup>. Jacob's dream and the struggle with the angel.

fol. 5<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>. Two miniatures of angels ascending the ladder (first table of contents).

fol. 7<sup>r</sup>. John Climacus praying (the *Vita*).

fol. 12<sup>v</sup>. The spiritual tablets.

fol. 13<sup>r</sup>. St. John addressing the monks (chap. 1).

<sup>15</sup> W. Lameere, "Apamée de Syrie et les Cynégétiques du Pseudo-Oppien dans la miniature byzantine," *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, XIX, 1938.

<sup>16</sup> Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pp. 85f., pl. xcii, nos. 581-589.

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fol. 256<sup>v</sup>-257<sup>r</sup>. Two miniatures of angels ascending the ladder (second table of contents).  
fol. 258<sup>r</sup>. St. John addressing the monks (*Homily to the Pastor*).

Illuminated initials and title-pieces.

The manuscript has been variously dated. Van de Vorst considers it to be of the tenth or eleventh century. Tietze and Gollob decide for the latter, by analogy with Vat. gr. 394. Osieczkowska makes no suggestion as to date.

It has been observed above that pictures and text are not contemporary. The palaeographical evidence furnished by the text is admittedly slight, but the preponderance of angular over curved breathing marks points to the early eleventh century as the most probable date. The Vatican Menologium of Basil II,<sup>17</sup> dated 976-1025, shows approximately the same proportion of rectangular and round breathing marks.

A better index of date is found in the ornament of the manuscript. The title-pieces, outlined in red ink, with light washes of red, blue, green, and yellow, are certainly not Constantinopolitan, but are characteristic of many provincial scriptoria in the first half of the eleventh century. The decorative bands on fol. 1<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 225) and 72<sup>v18</sup> may be compared with similar ornamental features in Coislin 213 and Meteora, Hagia Trias, cod. 40, both datable in the early eleventh century.<sup>19</sup> These manuscripts, localized by Weitzmann in the Palestinian region, show the same debased foliate motifs as the Rossianus Climax. From the evidence of palaeography and ornament we may conclude that Vat. Ross. 251 was written in a provincial center, perhaps in Palestine, during the eleventh century.

The miniatures, on the other hand, with their somewhat stiff and heavily drawn figures, reveal the characteristics of twelfth-century style. The protruding foreheads and distinctly "concave" profiles recall similar mannerisms in Constantinopolitan manuscripts of that period, such as the Vatican gospel book, cod. Urb. gr. 2, datable before 1143 by its imperial portraits.<sup>20</sup> The head of John Climacus on fol. 7<sup>r</sup> of our manuscript, for example (Fig. 230), presents certain similarities to that of Matthew on fol. 21<sup>r</sup> of the gospels.<sup>21</sup> The substitution of blue for the gold background is of course an indication of provincial craftsmanship. The style of the Rossianus miniatures may be said to be derived from that of the capital about the mid-twelfth century.

C. Van de Vorst, "Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften der Bibliotheca Rossiana," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, xxiii, 1906, p. 498.

E. Gollob, "Die griechische Literatur in den Handschriften der Rossiana in Wien," *Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, CLXIV, 1910, Abhandlung 3, pp. 30ff.

H. Tietze, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Rossiana in Wien-Lainz* (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, v), Leipzig, 1911, p. 2, figs. 3-4.

<sup>17</sup> *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, vii), Turin, 1907, *passim*.

<sup>18</sup> C. Osieczkowska, "Note sur le Rossianus 251," *Byzantion*, ix, 1934, pl. xxi.

<sup>19</sup> Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pp. 74f., pl. Lxxx, nos. 498-500.

<sup>20</sup> C. Stornajolo, *Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo monaco e dell' evangelario greco urbinato* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, series minor, i), Rome, 1910.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, pl. 85.

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C. Osieczkowska, "Note sur le Rossianus 251 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane," *Byzantion*, ix, 1934, pp. 261ff., pls. x-xxiii.  
Lazarev, *op.cit.*, p. 316.

26. SINAI, MONASTERY OF ST. CATHERINE, COD. GR. 417. 254 folios, 25.6 x 18.8 cm., parchment. X century. (Figs. 1-4.)

## Contents:

The *Heavenly Ladder*.

## Decoration:

fol. 4<sup>r</sup>. The spiritual tablets.

fol. 13<sup>r</sup>. Medallion portrait of the author.

fol. 13<sup>v</sup>. A schematic vertical ladder, with rungs numbered from top to bottom, and a diagonal flight of steps numbered in the same way.

fol. 14<sup>r</sup>. A vertical ladder contained within an arch; on the top step, a later drawing of Christ standing with a book and a crown.

fol. 209<sup>r</sup>. Two diagonal ladders, each of fifteen rungs (chap. xxvii).

Numerous decorated initials and title-pieces.

The ladder on fol. 14<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 3) consists of alternating bands of dark and light, making a total of thirty rungs. The "spiritual tablets" are illustrated on fol. 4<sup>r</sup>, the words *πλάκες πνευματικαί* each being enclosed within a rectangular panel, as in Coislin 263 (fol. 7<sup>r</sup>).

This beautiful manuscript must be of the early tenth century. The script is remarkably even and precise; the letters are rounded and inclined a little to the left, and the ends of vertical strokes are slightly thickened. A similar style of writing is to be seen in a tenth-century gospel book in London (Brit. Mus., Add. MS 11300).<sup>22</sup> The head-pieces of the London manuscript<sup>23</sup> offer still other points of resemblance: the rosettes and foliate forms are like the ornamental features in the portrait of Climacus (Fig. 1); and the uncial letters are closely akin to those of the title on fol. 209<sup>r</sup> of our manuscript (Fig. 4). Even the horse-shoe arches of the gospel canon tables<sup>24</sup> are comparable to those in the Climax (Fig. 3).

Throughout the manuscript, the initial E frequently takes the form of two fishes (e.g., fols. 6<sup>v</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup>, 21<sup>v</sup>). Zoomorphic initials of this sort are common in tenth-century codices, as for example Coislin 51.<sup>25</sup>

An unusual feature of Sinai gr. 417 is the script on fol. 13<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 2). The curiously thickened uncials, many of them joined together, are decidedly non-Greek in appearance. It is probable that we have to reckon here with Islamic influence, the letters being evidently formed in imitation of Kufic.<sup>26</sup> This kind of uncial is not unknown in Greek manuscripts: comparable forms are found, for example, in Paris gr. 48, a Byzantino-Islamic gospel book.<sup>27</sup> In other respects, however, the Sinai Climax is purely Greek in character. Whether it

<sup>22</sup> E. M. Thompson, *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum*, part 1, *Greek*, p. 23, pl. 16.

<sup>23</sup> Weitzmann, *op.cit.*, pl. viii, nos. 37-38.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, p. 8, fig. 8.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, p. 11, fig. 11.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the examples of tenth-century Kufic reproduced in T. W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, London, 1929, pls. 15 and 30C.

<sup>27</sup> Weitzmann, *op.cit.*, p. 76, pl. lxxxii, nos. 516-517.



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originated in Constantinople or in an eastern region is a question that must for the present remain unsolved.

N. Kondakov, *Puteshestvie na Sinai v 1881 godu*, Odessa, 1882, p. 153; Album, pl. 88.

V. Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Sinaiticorum*, Oxford, 1886, p. 100.

V. Beneshevich, *Monumenta Sinaitica archaeologica et palaeographica*, fasc. II, St. Petersburg, 1912, pl. 42.

Lazarev, *op.cit.*, p. 304.

27. SINAI, MONASTERY OF ST. CATHERINE, COD. GR. 418. 313 folios, 17 x 13 cm., parchment. XII century. (Figs. 174-216.)

## Contents:

The Heavenly Ladder.

## Decoration:

fol. 2<sup>r</sup>. Frontispiece showing a cross flanked by two birds and two lions.

fol. 2<sup>v</sup>. John Climacus presenting his book to Christ.

fol. 3<sup>r</sup>. John of Raithu handing his letter to a messenger; the latter delivers it to John Climacus (John of Raithu's letter).

fol. 4<sup>v</sup>. Two crosses within an arcade.

fol. 13<sup>r</sup>. Ornamented head-piece. In the margin: John Climacus hands his letter to a messenger; it is delivered to John of Raithu (the author's reply).

fol. 15<sup>v</sup>. Full-page miniature of the heavenly ladder.

fol. 16<sup>r</sup>. Within the head-piece, John Climacus writing (chap. I).

fol. 27<sup>r</sup>. A bearded man and two beggars (chap. II).

fol. 31<sup>v</sup>. A novice approaches a hermit in a cave (chap. III, part I).

fol. 37<sup>r</sup>. A sleeping monk tempted by demons (chap. III, part 2).

fol. 39<sup>r</sup>. A seated abbot addresses six monks (chap. IV).

fol. 79<sup>r</sup>. Within the head-piece, monks praying to Christ; in the margin, three monks praying before the Virgin (chap. V).

fol. 94<sup>v</sup>. A monk sits before a sarcophagus containing four bodies (chap. VI).

fol. 99<sup>v</sup>. A monk with a nimbus sitting in a cell; at the right, a basket (chap. VII).

fol. 113<sup>v</sup>. A monk sitting before a lectern addresses a youth; below, two other youths, one of whom points to an open chest (chap. VIII).

fol. 121<sup>r</sup>. A man enthroned, and two servants standing over two prostrate figures (chap. IX).

fol. 124<sup>r</sup>. A monk whispering in the ear of a seated brother, who addresses a third standing before him (chap. X).

fol. 127<sup>v</sup>. A monk with outstretched arms speaks to another seated, who presses his hands to his mouth (chap. XI).

fol. 129<sup>v</sup>. A man extends his hands toward a demon (?), while an angel beckons to him (chap. XII).

fol. 132<sup>r</sup>. A monk sleeping at a lectern (chap. XIII).

fol. 135<sup>r</sup>. A monk sitting at a table drinks wine, and is joined by two younger men; in the margin, a cock on a column (chap. XIV).

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- fol. 142<sup>v</sup>. A figure standing, holding a staff (chap. xv).
- fol. 162<sup>v</sup>. A rich man seated among his possessions, and two servants driving away two beggars (chap. xvi).
- fol. 163<sup>r</sup>. In the lower margin, a man gives alms to two beggars, while another man turns away (chap. xvi).
- fol. 164<sup>r</sup>. A seated figure is attended by two angels, one of whom places a crown on his head (chap. xvii).
- fol. 166<sup>v</sup>. A monk stands at a table covered with food, and looks at the reminders of the Last Judgment (chap. xviii).
- fol. 170<sup>r</sup>. A monk asleep in bed is tempted by a demon; another sits singing psalms and is crowned by an angel; a third strikes the *semantron* (chap. xix).
- fol. 172<sup>r</sup>. Monks praying before Christ (chap. xx).
- fol. 175<sup>r</sup>. Two seated monks, one addressing the other, who is assailed by a demon (chap. xxi).
- fol. 177<sup>r</sup>. Funeral procession, with the deceased lying on a bed carried by two men, led by persons carrying candles and censers, and followed by three weeping women (chap. xxii).
- fol. 184<sup>v</sup>. Two men, one with arms thrust out, the other praying to Christ (chap. xxiii, part 1).
- fol. 189<sup>v</sup>. A priest holding the host at the altar is addressed by a man; the same man falls on his knees before an aged monk (chap. xxiii, part 2).
- fol. 193<sup>v</sup>. In the margin, a monk seated before a building, and three youths below (chap. xxiv).
- fol. 197<sup>v</sup>. In the margin, a monk beats another (chap. xxv).
- fol. 211<sup>r</sup>. Within the head-piece, a monk lying on a bed, another standing, and a third praying to Christ (chap. xxvi, part 1).
- fol. 231<sup>v</sup>. David and five monks in prayer (chap. xxvi, part 2).
- fol. 248<sup>r</sup>. The author, seated at a lectern, teaches the monks (chap. xxvi, part 3).
- fol. 254<sup>r</sup>. A monk in his cell, a stylite on his column, and an anchorite seated (chap. xxvii, part 1).
- fol. 259<sup>r</sup>. Three monks bowing before a stylite on his column, and another weaving a basket (chap. xxvii, part 2).
- fol. 269<sup>r</sup>. Monks praying within a church (chap. xxviii).
- fol. 279<sup>r</sup>. An angel and a monk, who receives a crown from a second angel; two men and two richly clad women standing at the right (chap. xxix).
- fol. 283<sup>r</sup>. Within a mandorla, Charity enthroned, with Christ above her; on either side, Faith and Hope (chap. xxx).
- fol. 290<sup>r</sup>. John Climacus enthroned amidst six monks; in the margin above, the Deesis (*Homily to the Pastor*).

This richly decorated book, which in the extensiveness of its cycle is equalled only by Vat. gr. 394 and the Princeton manuscript, can be safely dated in the twelfth century. The system of illustration, with the miniatures enclosed within the ornamental head-pieces preceding each chapter, is paralleled in many mid-Byzantine manuscripts. Closely akin

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to the Sinai Climax in style and method of decoration is Paris gr. 550, a twelfth-century codex of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. The decorative frontispiece on fol. 2<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 174) resembles a similar page in the Paris manuscript;<sup>28</sup> and the floral border around the picture of dedication (Fig. 175) is exactly duplicated in that surrounding the standing portrait of Gregory.<sup>29</sup> The figures in both manuscripts are slight and wiry, the folds of the garments being indicated by fine dark lines. The two miniaturists have certain mannerisms in common: on fol. 27<sup>r</sup> of the Sinai codex (Fig. 181) the somewhat hunched posture of the man on the right is matched by several figures on fol. 251<sup>r</sup> of the Paris Gregory.<sup>30</sup>

It was suggested by Kondakov that codex 418 was written in Sinai itself. This, although there are no subscriptions in the manuscript to confirm it, deserves serious consideration. It is probably true that the work is the product of a provincial center rather than of the capital. We know little or nothing of Sinaitic illumination of the twelfth century, except that it was doubtless related to the style of Palestine. Of the latter, fortunately, we are better able to judge.

Especially interesting in this connection is an illustrated gospel manuscript in the Princeton University Library (Garrett MS 3) which was written, according to a colophon, in the year 1136 in the monastery of St. Saba near Jerusalem.<sup>31</sup> The miniature that chiefly concerns us is that of the Nativity on fol. 5<sup>r</sup>.<sup>32</sup> The principal scene appears within the headpiece; but in the margin to the right a separate rectangle, with its own gold background, encloses the figure of Isaiah pointing to the Nativity as the fulfilment of his prophecy. In this feature, it will be recognized, the illustration resembles that on fol. 79<sup>r</sup> of the Sinai Climax, where a subsidiary miniature is likewise placed in the margin (Fig. 185). Not dissimilar, again, is the separate marginal picture of the Deesis on fol. 290<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 216).

Sinai gr. 418 also shows a certain roughness in the execution of the ornament, though in this respect it is more accomplished than the Princeton gospel book. In any event, there is some reason to believe that the codex was written in a region near Palestine, perhaps actually at Sinai.

Kondakov, *Puteshestvie na Sinai*, pp. 153ff.; Album, pls. 77-78.

*idem*, *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, II, pp. 134f.

Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum Sinaiticorum*, pp. 100f.

Krumbacher, in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, IV, 1895, p. 225.

Millet, "L'art byzantin," in A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, I, p. 250.

Reuter, *Beiträge zu einer Ikonographie des Todes*, pp. 49ff.

Morey, *East Christian Paintings*, pp. 3, 12ff.

Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, II, p. 536.

Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine*, p. 39.

Lazarev, *op.cit.*, p. 320.

<sup>28</sup> Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pl. CVI, no. 2.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, pl. CVII, no. 1. <sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, pl. CXIV, no. 2.

<sup>31</sup> K. W. Clark, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America*, Chicago, 1937, pp. 66ff.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, pl. VIII.

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28. SINAI, MONASTERY OF ST. CATHERINE, COD. GR. 423. 240 folios, 19 x 15 cm., parchment. XI-XII century. (Fig. 23.)

## *Contents:*

*The Heavenly Ladder.*

## *Decoration:*

fol. 10<sup>v</sup>. Marginal miniature of the heavenly ladder.

The chief interest of the single miniature (Fig. 23) is that it reveals so frankly the derivation of the ladder-scene from the Vision of Jacob. The picture does not serve as a frontispiece, but as an illustration accompanying the first chapter, which commences on the same leaf. To judge from the style, the miniature is of about the twelfth century. Possibly it was added later to the manuscript, which is dated by Gardthausen in the eleventh. There is, in any event, no great discrepancy in time between the text and the illustration.

Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum Sinaiticorum*, p. 102.

29. SINAI, MONASTERY OF ST. CATHERINE, COD. GR. 427. 240 folios, 22 x 15 cm., paper. XVI-XVII century. (Figs. 290-293.)

## *Contents:*

*The Heavenly Ladder*, preceded by the Penitential Canon.

## *Decoration:*

fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-16<sup>v</sup>. Thirty-two miniatures illustrating the verses of the Canon (for full description of the cycle cf. Vat. gr. 1754, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>-19<sup>r</sup>).

fol. 17<sup>r</sup>. The heavenly ladder.

Gardthausen's dating in the fourteenth century is clearly impossible. The codex must be at least as late as the sixteenth, as proposed by Beneshevich. The illustrations, in ink and colored wash, are among the latest preserved of the Penitential Canon, and exhibit the greatest degree of western influence. This is manifested both in the spacious landscape settings and in the more naturalistic rendering of the human form (cf. Fig. 291). Comparison may be made here with codex 11 of the Library of the Senate, Athens, a paper manuscript of Barlaam and Joasaph.<sup>33</sup> The miniatures of this work, which is of the sixteenth century, show a similar preference for leafy trees in expansive landscape settings. Sinai gr. 427, it may be concluded, must be of about the same date, if indeed it is not even later.

The iambic verses on fol. 17<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 293) are common in Climax manuscripts. Morey has collected several examples of this sort.<sup>34</sup> The letters below, arranged in cross-form, are evidently an abbreviated exhortation. A possible solution, assuming them to read from top to bottom and from left to right, would be: AN(A)B(AI)N(E)T(E) II(A)T(E)P(EC) (ascend, O fathers). Especially interesting is the architecture on the same page, which actually represents the monastery church of Sinai, easily identifiable as a three-aisled

<sup>33</sup> Delatte, *Les manuscrits à miniatures des bibliothèques d'Athènes*, pp. 106ff., pls. XL-XLVIII. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration du roman de Barlaam et Joasaph*, p. 27, pls. XCIV-XCIX.

<sup>34</sup> Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, pp. 26f.

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basilica with detached campanile.<sup>35</sup> It may be that the codex was written and illustrated at Sinai itself.

Gardthausen, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

V. Beneshevich, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum qui in monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in monte Sina asservantur*, I, St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 227, no. 411.

30. VENICE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE DI SAN MARCO, COD. GR. II 32. 235 folios, 26.7 x 22 cm., parchment and paper. XI, and XV-XVI centuries. (Figs. 278-280.)

## Contents:

The *Heavenly Ladder*, and the Penitential Canon.

## Decoration:

fols. 202<sup>r</sup>-217<sup>v</sup>. Thirty-two miniatures illustrating the verses of the Canon (for full description of the cycle cf. Vat. gr. 1754, fols. 3<sup>v</sup>-19<sup>r</sup>).

fols. 218<sup>v</sup>-219<sup>r</sup>. Ink-drawing of the heavenly ladder, spaced over two adjoining pages.

The manuscript proper may be dated on palaeographical grounds in the eleventh century. The script is very regular, and the breathing marks are for the most part rectangular in shape.

The Penitential Canon, inserted between the text of the *Heavenly Ladder* and the *Homily to the Pastor*, is a later addition. It is composed of two quaternions of slightly smaller dimensions than the remainder of the book. The outer sheets of each gathering are of parchment, and the inner ones of paper; the latter have been covered for protective purposes with a fine cloth net. A separate paper binion bears a pen-drawing of the heavenly ladder.

The Canon is probably of the fifteenth century. The miniatures, executed in ink and colored wash, closely resemble those in Ivron 835, a still unpublished paper codex of the year 1426.<sup>36</sup> From the fact that the opening page (fol. 202<sup>r</sup>) is badly rubbed and torn, we may deduce that the Canon was originally bound at the beginning of a Climax manuscript, as in Sinai gr. 427.

The manuscript once formed part of the Nani Library, which was donated to the Marciana in 1797.<sup>37</sup>

G. L. Mingarelli, *Graeci codices manu scripti apud Nani patricios Venetos asservati*, Bologna, 1784, pp. 60f., no. LIII.

31. VENICE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE DI SAN MARCO, COD. GR. II 44. 198 folios, 19.5 x 14.5 cm., paper. XVI century. (Figs. 287-289.)

## Contents:

The *Heavenly Ladder*, followed by the Penitential Canon.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the photographs reproduced in V. Beneshevich, *Monumenta Sinaitica*, fasc. I, Leningrad, 1925, pls. 9-10.

<sup>36</sup> Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Athos*, II, p. 229.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. "I cataloghi delle biblioteche italiane," *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, III, 1929-30, p. 263.



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### *Decoration:*

fols. 180<sup>r</sup>-195<sup>v</sup>. Thirty-two miniatures illustrating the Penitential Canon (for full description of the cycle cf. Vat. gr. 1754, fols. 3<sup>v</sup>-19<sup>r</sup>).

fols. 196<sup>v</sup>-197<sup>r</sup>. The heavenly ladder, spaced over two adjoining pages.

Unlike Venice gr. II 32, the Canon in this manuscript is an integral part of the whole, and not a later insertion. The miniatures are done in brown ink and colored wash, and are probably to be ascribed to the sixteenth century; certainly Mingarelli's dating in the thirteenth is out of the question. The codex came to the Marciana from the Nani Library. Mingarelli, *op.cit.*, pp. 117f., no. LXV.

32. VIENNA, NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, COD. THEOL. GR. 207. 138 folios, 21.6 x 13.8 cm., paper. XIV century. (Fig. 22.)

### *Contents:*

The *Heavenly Ladder*, with other writings on pages inserted later (fols. 1 and 136ff.).

### *Decoration:*

fol. 2<sup>r</sup>. Pen-drawing of the heavenly ladder, serving both as frontispiece and as table of contents.

The single illustration (Fig. 22) is drawn in brown ink. The codex is dated by Buberl and Gerstinger in the second half of the fourteenth century.

D. de Nessel, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum Augustissimae Bibliothecae Caesariae Vindobonensis*, Vienna-Nuremberg, 1690, I, p. 306 and plate.

Morey, *op.cit.*, pp. 3, 14, 18ff., fig. 9.

Gerstinger, *Die griechische Buchmalerei*, p. 40, fig. 20.

Buberl and Gerstinger, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften*, II, pp. 67f., pl. xxxII, no. 2.

Lazarev, *op.cit.*, p. 369.

33. WASHINGTON, FREER GALLERY OF ART, DE RICCI 10. Two parchment folios from a Climax manuscript, 17.2 x 10.5 cm. and 15.6 x 13.2 cm. XII century. (Figs. 14-15.)

On the second folio (Fig. 15) the ladder has only twenty-one rungs; even though the bottom of the page has been trimmed, there can hardly have been sufficient space for the nine additional steps required to make up the total of thirty. The iambic verses on the left side recall those above the ladder in Sinai gr. 427 (Fig. 293).

This page also gives the signature of the scribe: *πόννημ(α) θεοκτίστ(ου) ἱερομ(ονάχ)ου*. The name Theoctistus is found in several manuscripts of the early twelfth century, one of which is Dionysiu 8, a gospel book dated 1133. From this circumstance, and from certain palaeographical features, Morey concludes that the Freer leaves are from a manuscript written in Constantinople about the year 1130. The scribe may indeed be the same, but the two miniatures are certainly inferior in quality to the splendid evangelist portraits of Dionysiu 8.<sup>38</sup>

Morey, *op.cit.*, pp. 1ff., pls. I-II.

DeRicci and Wilson, *Census of Mediaeval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, I, p. 468, no. 10.

<sup>38</sup> Dölger, *Mönchsland Athos*, p. 195, figs. 114-115.



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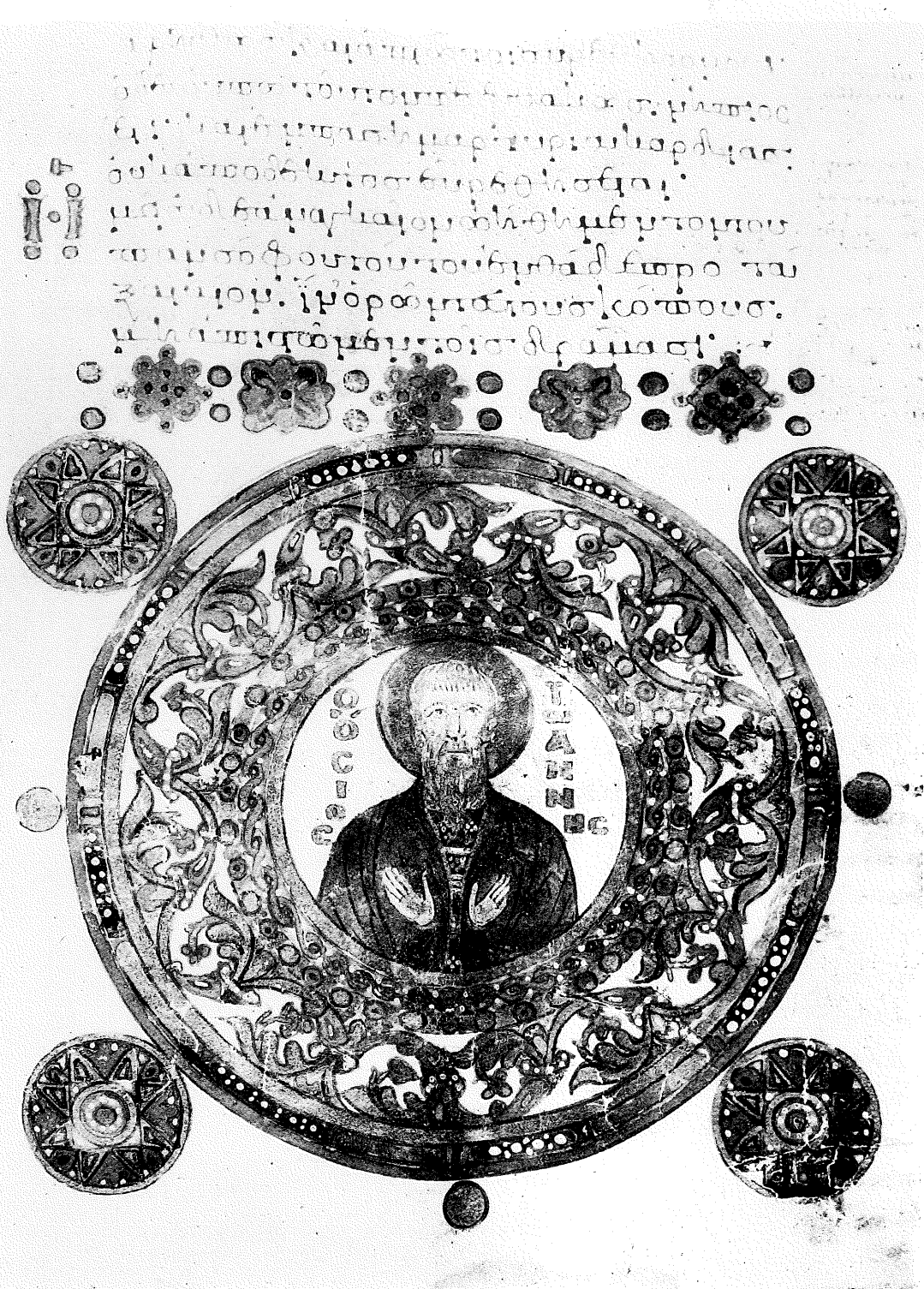
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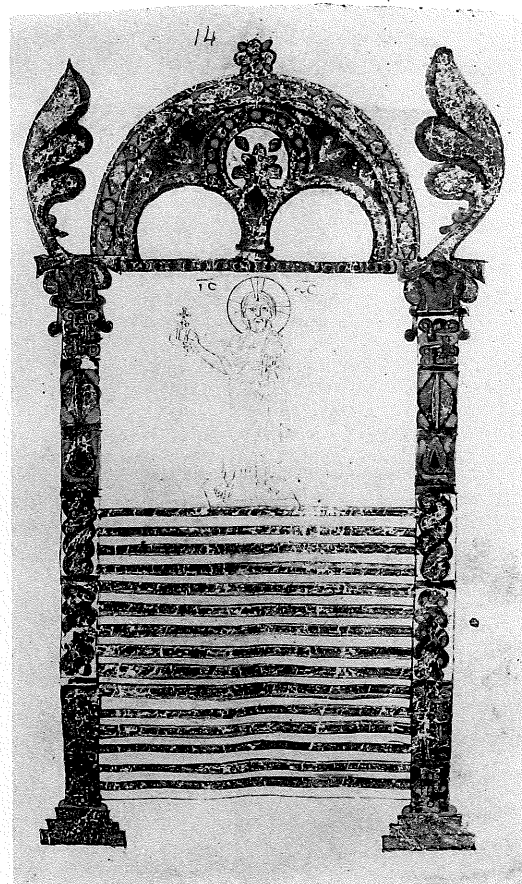
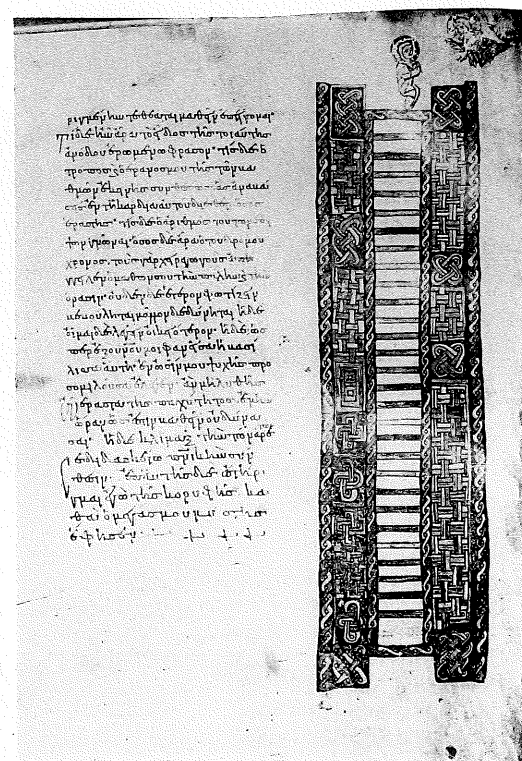


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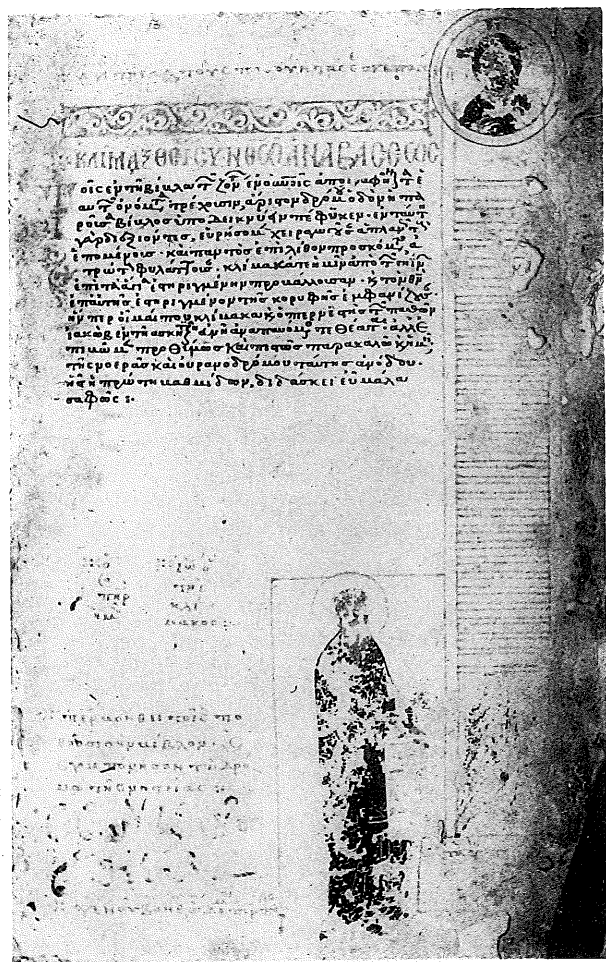


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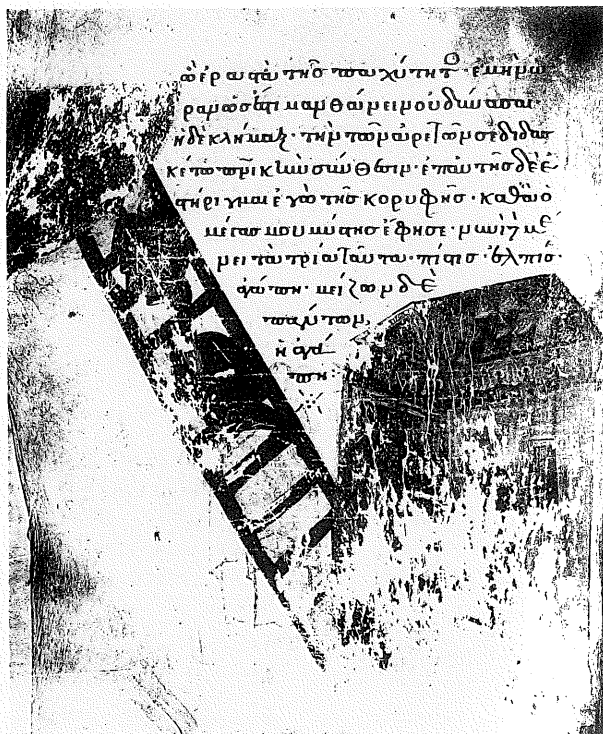
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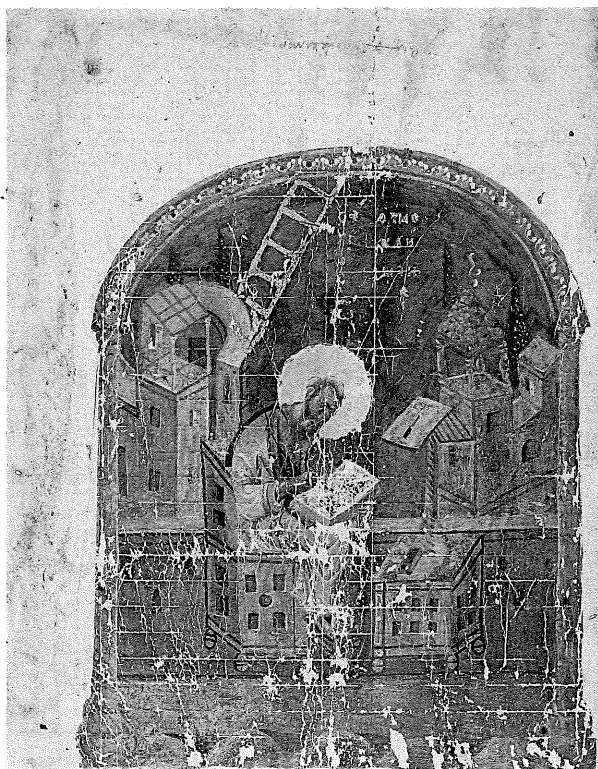
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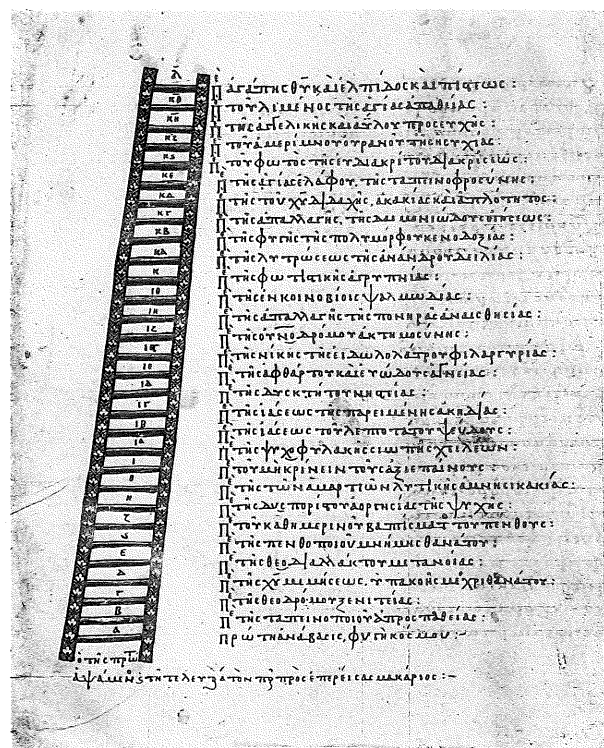
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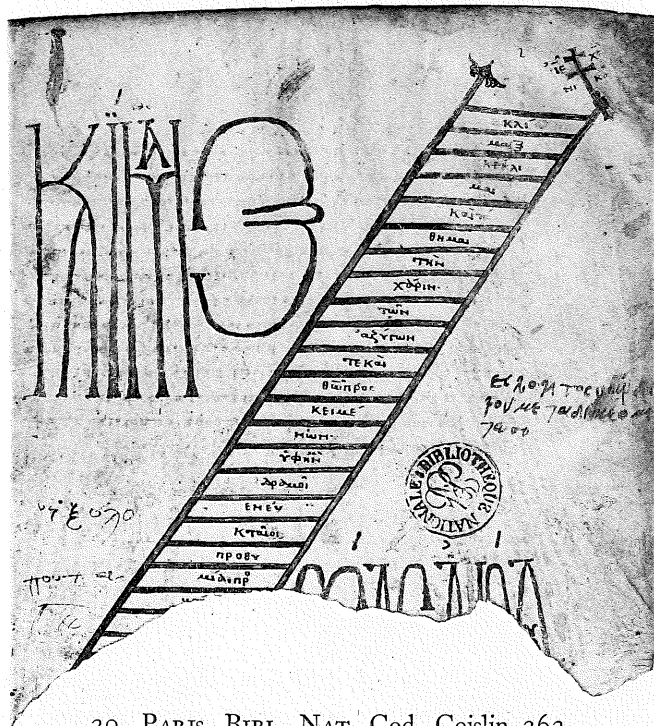
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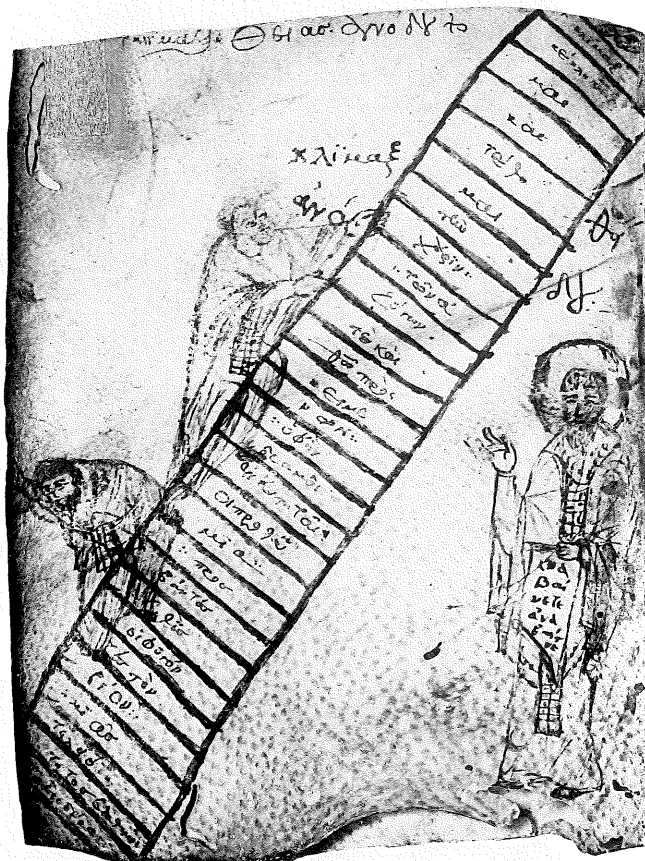
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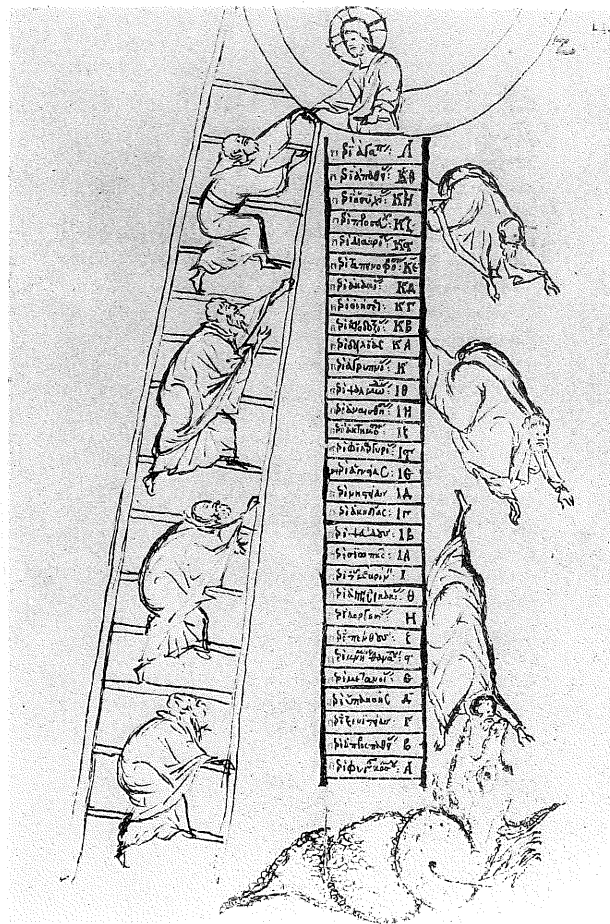


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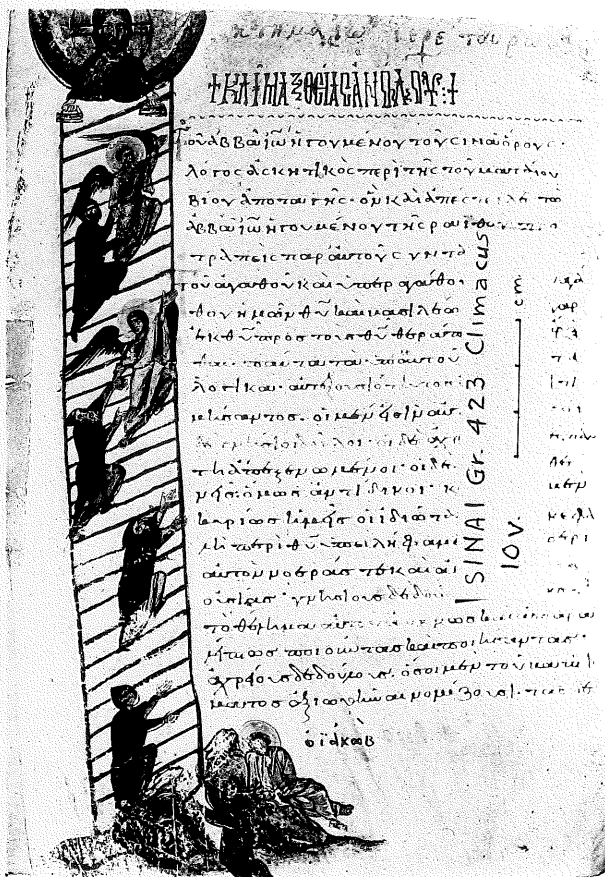


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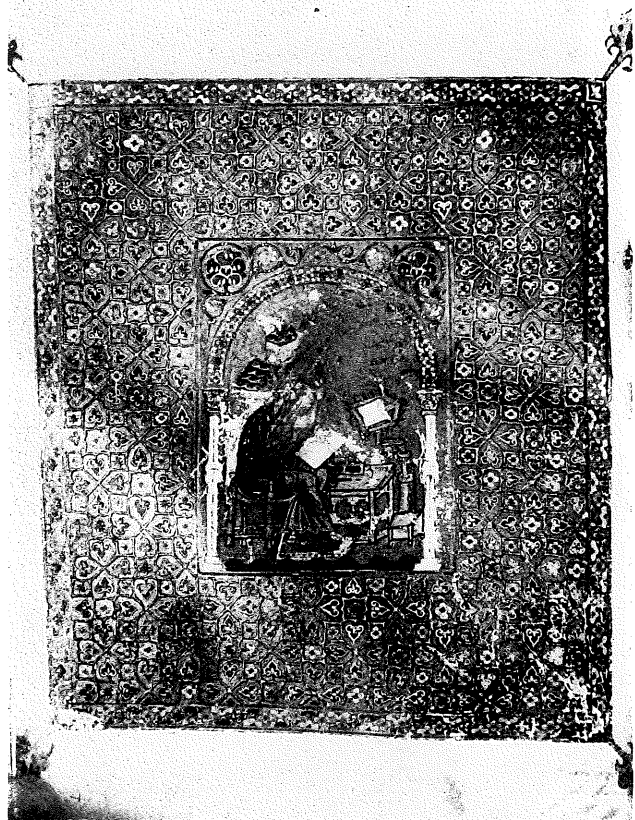




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23. SINAI. Cod. gr. 423. Fol. 10<sup>v</sup>:  
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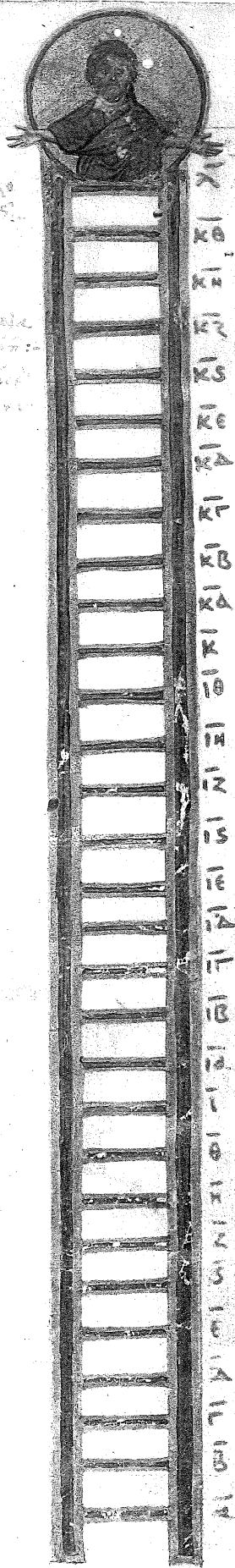
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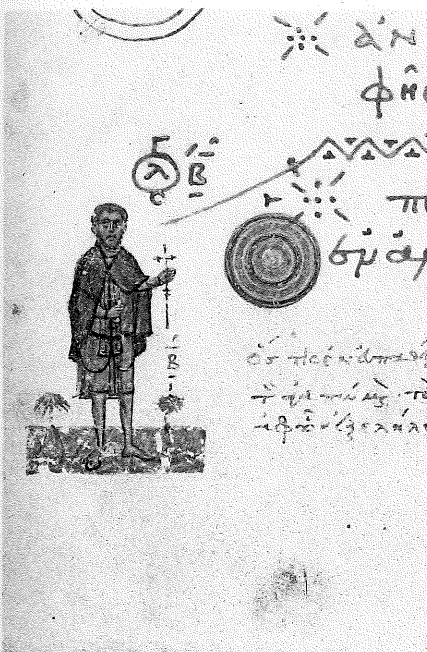


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 Ε Π ΚΑΤΑΝΟΜΗΣ ΜΕΡΙΜΝΗΣ ΑΓΕΝΝΗΣΙΑΣ:  
 Δ Π ΤΟΥ ΜΟΡΤΕΙΟΥ ΤΑΛΑΝΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΝ:  
 Γ Π ΔΕΝΥΠΙΑΣ ΕΝΝΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΗΣ ΑΓΩΝΗΣ:  
 Β Π ΑΠΕΡΕΣΤΕΡΗΣ ΕΝΝΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΗΣ ΑΓΩΝΗΣ:  
 Α Π ΤΗΣ ΤΟΛΜΑΧΟΥΣ ΒΙΟΥΣ ΤΟ ΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΥ ΕΝΝΗΣΙΑΣ

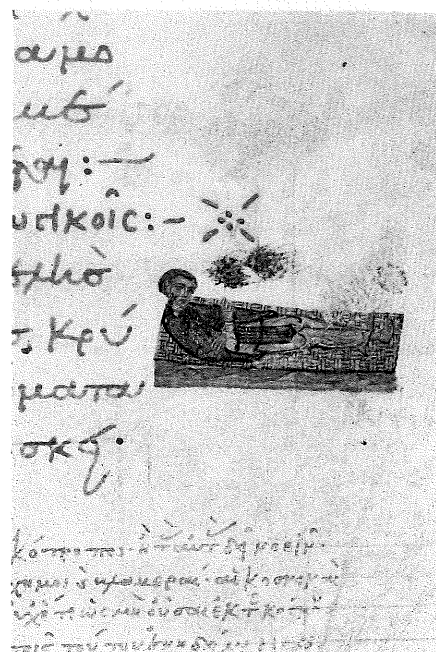




32. Fol. 8<sup>v</sup>: The Spiritual Tablets



33. Fol. 15<sup>v</sup>: Dispassionateness



34. Fol. 22<sup>r</sup>: Dreams



35. Fol. 23<sup>v</sup>: Obedience



36. Fol. 63<sup>v</sup>: Remembrance of Death

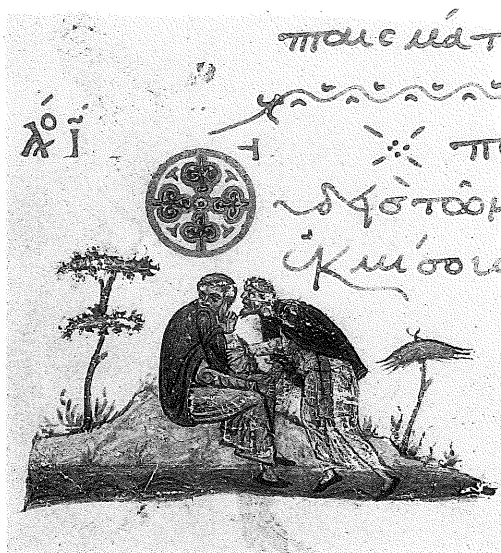
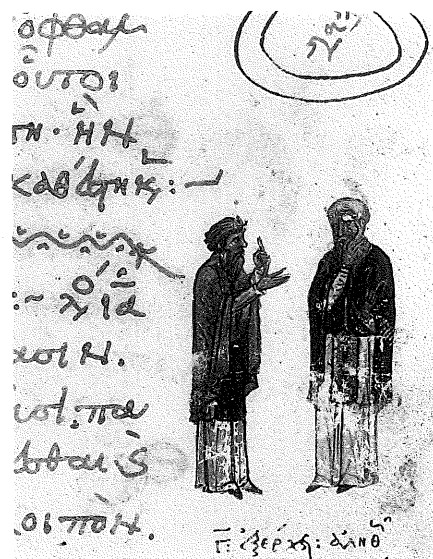
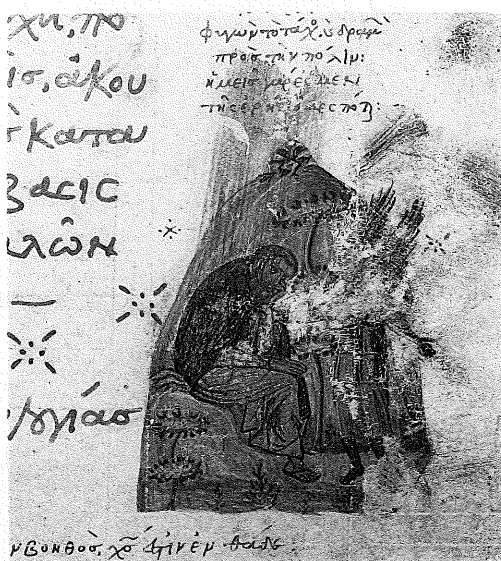


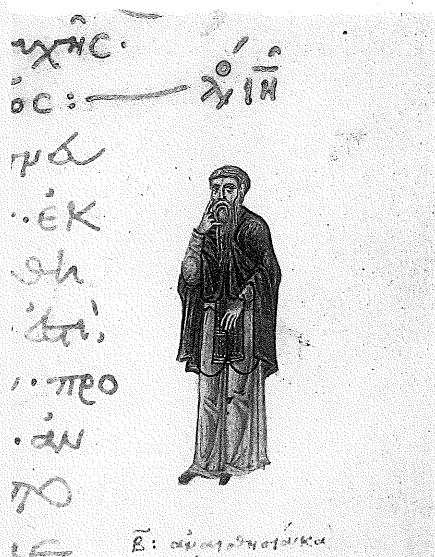
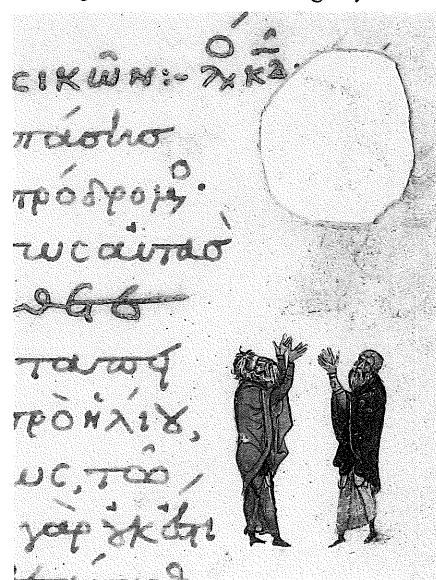
37. Fol. 66<sup>v</sup>: Sorrow



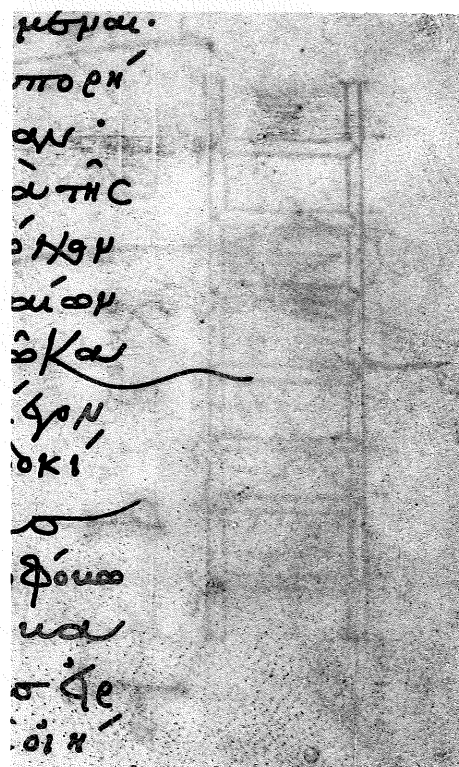
38. Fol. 76<sup>r</sup>: Placidity and Meekness



39. Fol. 81<sup>r</sup>: Malice40. Fol. 82<sup>v</sup>: Slander41. Fol. 85<sup>r</sup>: Talkativeness and Silence42. Fol. 86<sup>r</sup>: Falsehood43. Fol. 87<sup>r</sup>: Sloth44. Fol. 93<sup>v</sup>: Gluttony45. Fol. 94<sup>r</sup>: Chastity and Temperance46. Fol. 107<sup>v</sup>: Avarice47. Fol. 108<sup>v</sup>: Poverty

48. Fol. 110<sup>r</sup>: Insensibility49. Fol. 112<sup>r</sup>: Sleep, Prayer, and Psalm-singing50. Fol. 113<sup>v</sup>: Wakefulness51. Fol. 115<sup>v</sup>: Timidity52. Fol. 116<sup>v</sup>: Vainglory53. Fol. 121<sup>v</sup>: Pride54. Fol. 125<sup>r</sup>: Blasphemy55. Fol. 128<sup>r</sup>: Meekness, Simplicity, Guilelessness, and Wickedness56. Fol. 140<sup>r</sup>: Discretion



57. Fol. 154<sup>r</sup>: Initial58. Fol. 154<sup>r</sup>: Discretion59. Fol. 165<sup>r</sup>: Mount Sinai60. Fol. 169<sup>v</sup>: Solitude61. Fol. 173<sup>r</sup>: Solitude62. Fol. 174<sup>r</sup>: Impression from fol. 173<sup>v</sup>63. Fol. 180<sup>v</sup>: Prayer64. Fol. 187<sup>v</sup>: Tranquillity65. Fol. 194<sup>v</sup>: John Climacus and John of Raithu (Homily to the Pastor)







67. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 394. Fol. F<sup>v</sup>: The Heavenly Ladder





70. Fol. 7<sup>r</sup>: Renunciation of Life71. Fol. 7<sup>v</sup>: John Climacus Addressing the People



72. Fol. 12<sup>r</sup>: Renunciation of Life; the First Rung

73. Fol. 12<sup>v</sup>: Dispassionateness



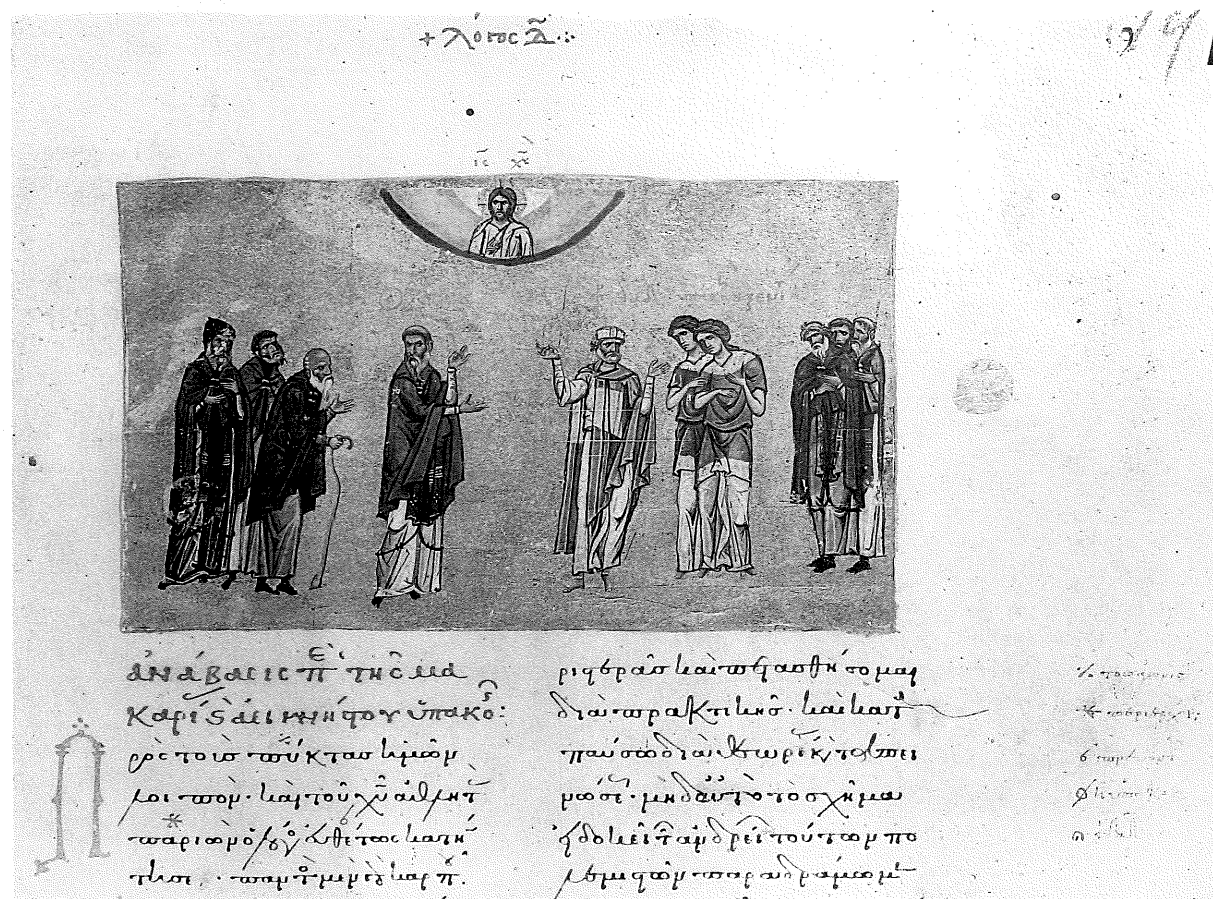
74. Fol. 14<sup>v</sup>: The Second Rung; Pilgrimage75. Fol. 17<sup>v</sup>: Pilgrimage; Dreams



76. Fol. 18<sup>r</sup>: Chasing a Shadow

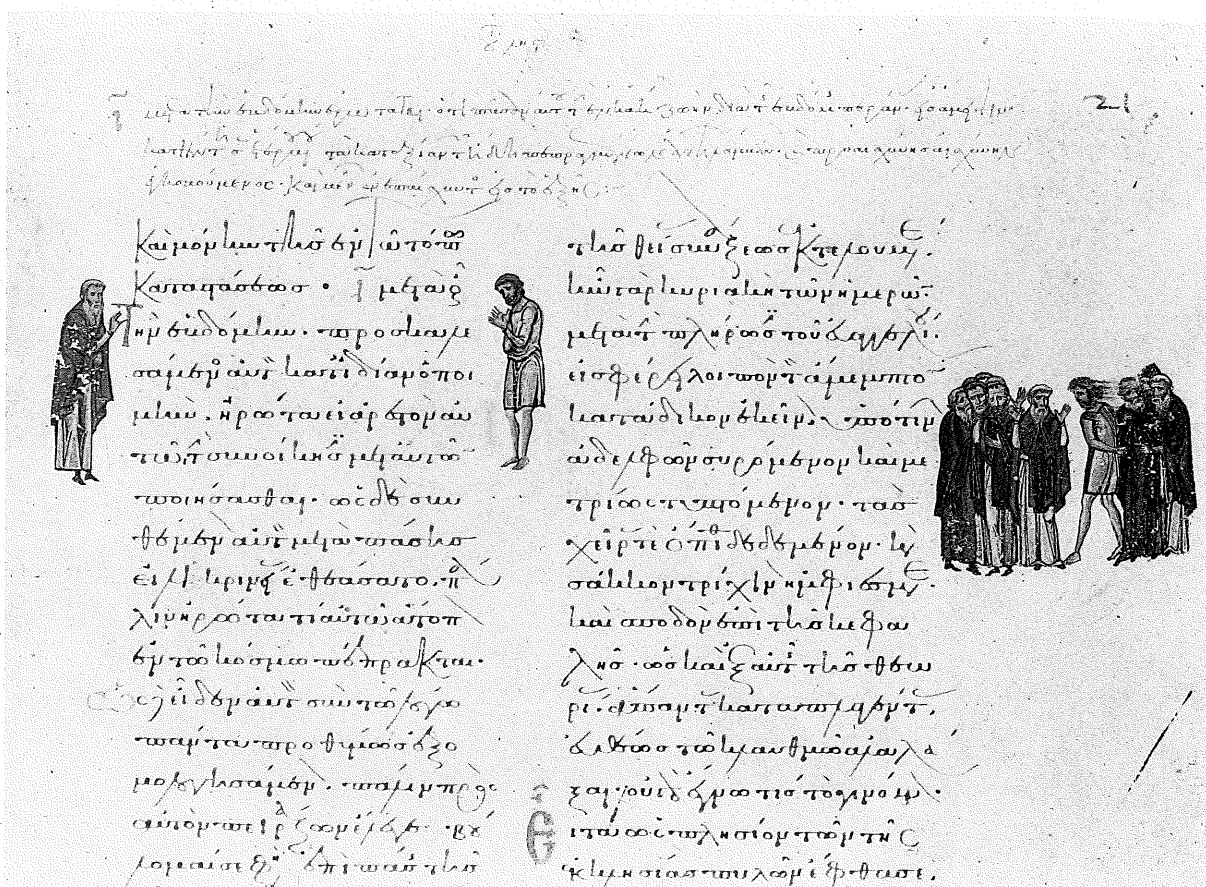


77. Fol. 18<sup>v</sup>: The Third Rung

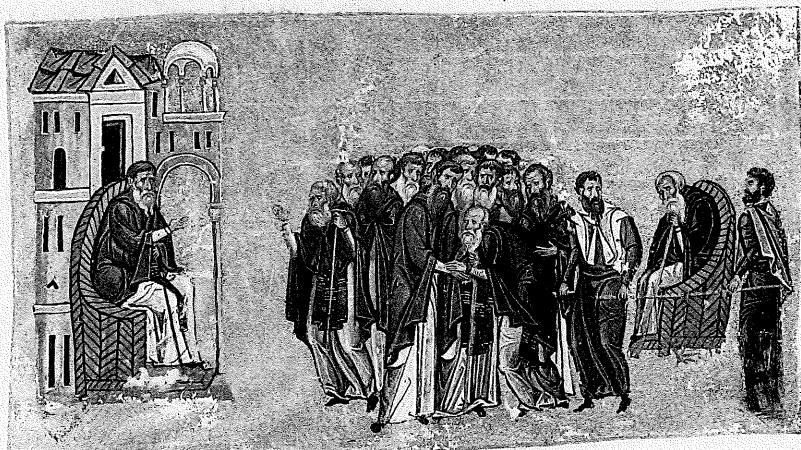


78. Fol. 19<sup>r</sup>: Obedience



79. Fol. 20<sup>v</sup>: The Obedient Thief81. Fol. 21<sup>v</sup>: The Obedient Thief80. Fol. 21<sup>r</sup>: The Obedient Thief

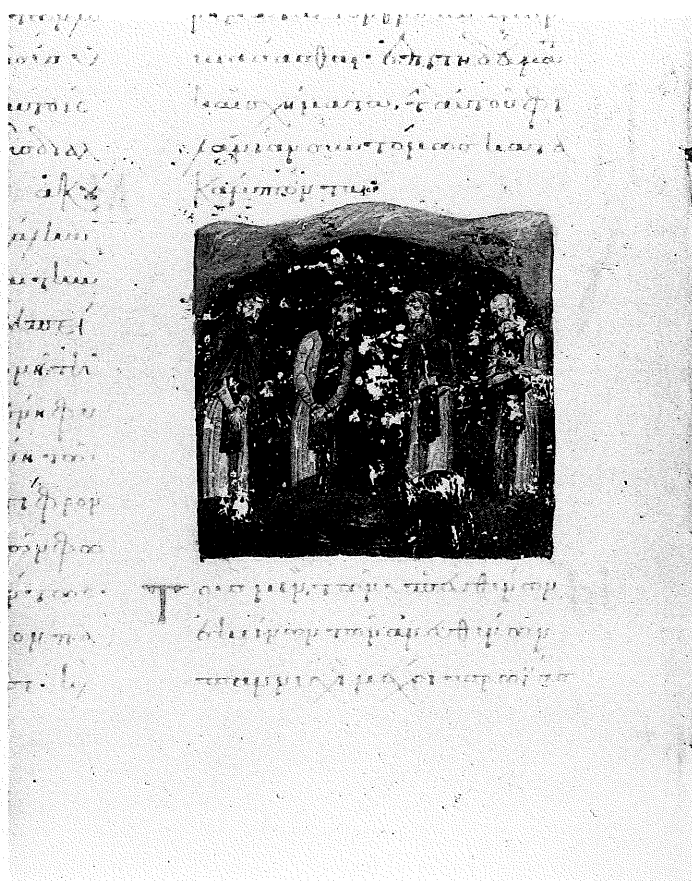
40



πῶς πᾶν ἀνθρώπου  
 ἐν μετανοίᾳ μετῴ  
 ρισθησέναι·  
 ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀνάγκη

τὸν δὲ σὺν αἰσχρολογίᾳ  
 ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀνάγκη  
 διακρίνειν τὸν ἁγίου πνεύματος

ὁ ἁγίος πνεῦμα  
 ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ  
 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

82. Fol. 41<sup>r</sup>: Penitence83. Fol. 41<sup>v</sup>: Penitents





**A** Χωλὴ θηρόποιον ποταμὸν εἰς Παιονίαν ᾠκοῖται καὶ  
ἐκείνη ἐφ' ὧν ἀναγράφεται ποταμός τις καὶ ἵππος.

[illegible]

86-87. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 394

86-87. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 394

[illegible][illegible]





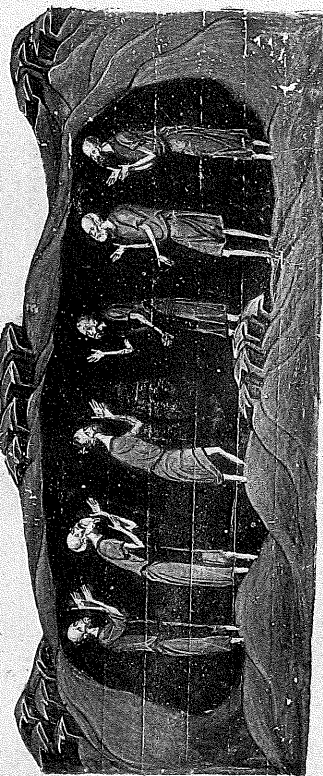
μη φειδομενοι ταυτων ποτε παρὰ καιροφρασας  
 λιολιωφ· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν μακρότητα τοῦ χρόνου  
 ὡς ἀδελφὰ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐκ αἰσίου τὰ δόλωσι·



Ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὁμοίαις ἀνθρώποις ὡς ἐν τῇ  
 μακρότητι τοῦ χρόνου οὐκ αἰσίου τὰ δόλωσι·

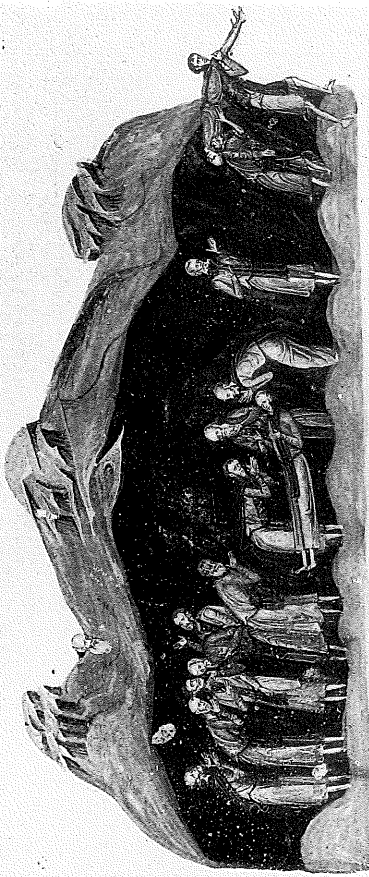
91. Fol. 46<sup>r</sup>: Penitents

καὶ ταύτῃ λαὸν οὐδ' ἐγγόγγον· ἀλλ' ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τῇ  
 γῇ καὶ τῇ θάλασσῃ· οὐδ' ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θάλασσῃ·  
 ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θάλασσῃ· οὐδ' ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θάλασσῃ·

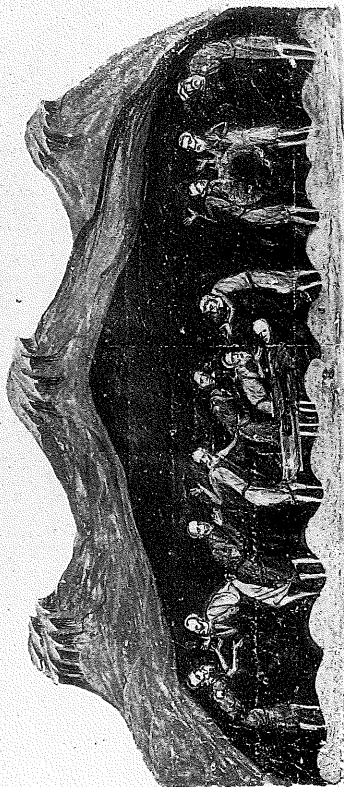


Ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὁμοίαις ἀνθρώποις ὡς ἐν τῇ  
 μακρότητι τοῦ χρόνου οὐκ αἰσίου τὰ δόλωσι·

92. Fol. 46<sup>v</sup>: Penitents

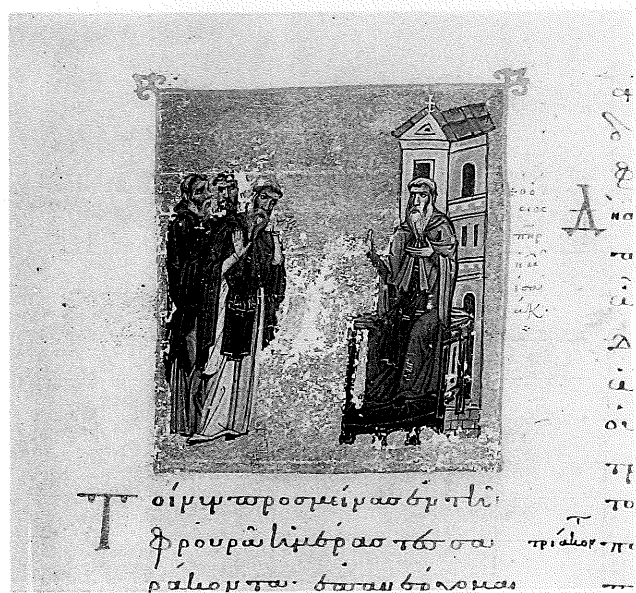
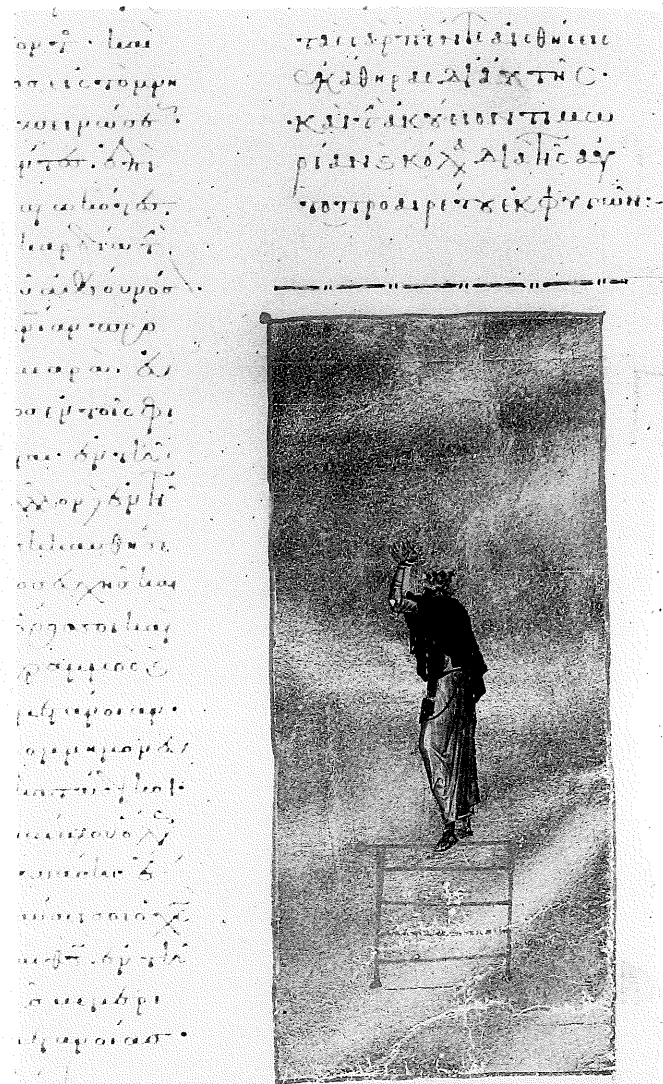


Μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῇ παραστάσει· καὶ τὸ ὡς καὶ  
 ἡμεῖς παρὰ τὴν μακρότητα τοῦ χρόνου οὐκ αἰσίου τὰ δόλωσι·  
 ὡς ἐν τῇ μακρότητι τοῦ χρόνου οὐκ αἰσίου τὰ δόλωσι·  
 ὡς ἐν τῇ μακρότητι τοῦ χρόνου οὐκ αἰσίου τὰ δόλωσι·  
 ὡς ἐν τῇ μακρότητι τοῦ χρόνου οὐκ αἰσίου τὰ δόλωσι·  
 ὡς ἐν τῇ μακρότητι τοῦ χρόνου οὐκ αἰσίου τὰ δόλωσι·

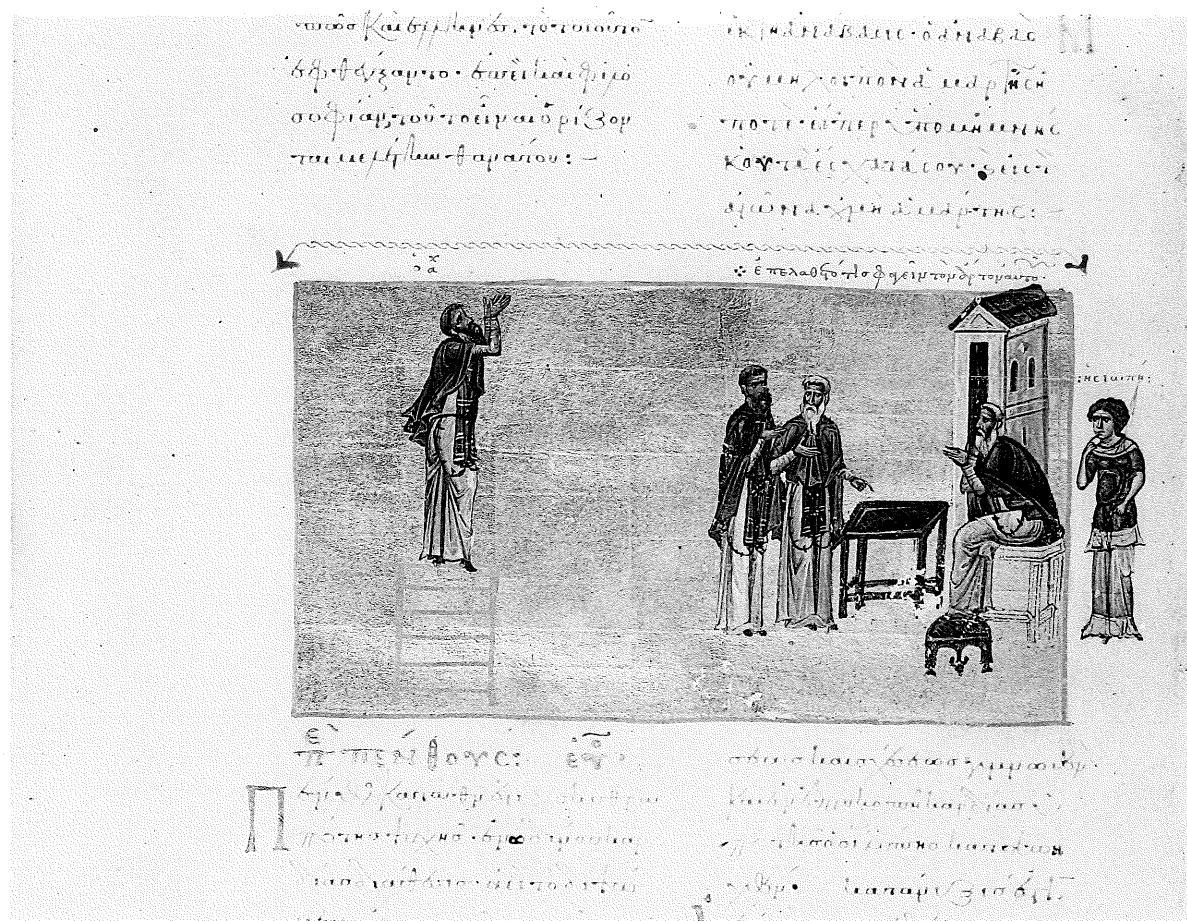


ὡς ἐν τῇ μακρότητι τοῦ χρόνου οὐκ αἰσίου τὰ δόλωσι·

93. Fol. 47<sup>r</sup>: Penitents

94. Fol. 48<sup>r</sup>: Penitents95. Fol. 49<sup>r</sup>: John Climacus and the Abbot96. Fol. 49<sup>v</sup>: Praying Monks97. Fol. 51<sup>v</sup>: The Fifth Rung

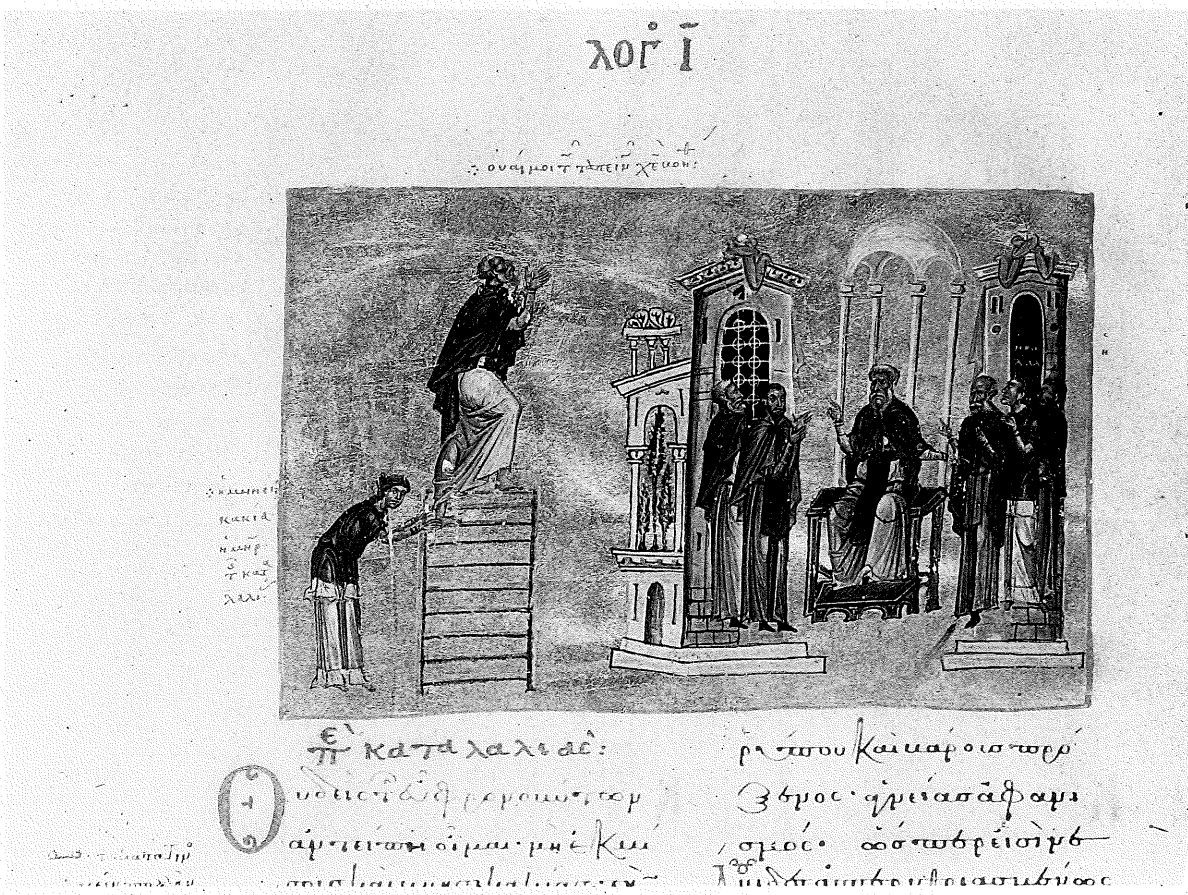


98. Fol. 54<sup>v</sup>: The Sixth Rung; Sorrow99. Fol. 62<sup>r</sup>: The Seventh Rung; Placidity and Meekness





100. Fol. 66<sup>r</sup>: The Eighth Rung; Malice

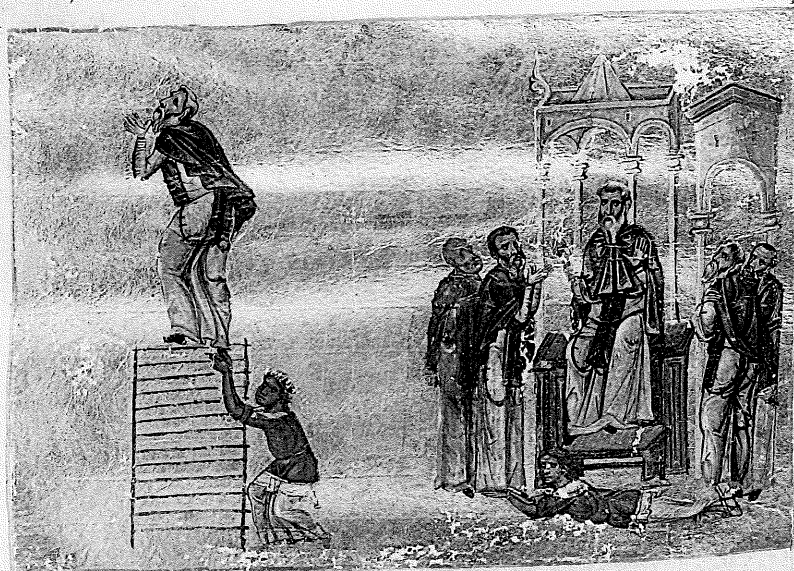


101. Fol. 67<sup>v</sup>: The Ninth Rung; Slander





εἰς ἅπαντας ἡσθαράσσοντες· ἵνα  
 καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ μετὰ φόβου  
 καὶ λαοῦ οὐ λαοῦ τοῦ  
 ὑποβιβασθέντος· οἱ δὲ καὶ  
 ἡνάγει αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ πῖθ  
 βηκῶς· ἵνα ἡ τῶν κελῶ  
 ΚΕΚΤΗΤΑΙ·



ΕΠΙΔΕΙΞΕΤΑΙ·  
 ἵνα καὶ οὗτος πορναῖος καὶ  
 ἡλὸς πορνογῶν καὶ ἡλὸς  
 ὡς καὶ ἡ δὲ φθασαὶ πᾶσι  
 πορνογῶν καὶ πορνογῶν  
 ἀπόγονος καὶ ὁ δὲ ἡλὸς καὶ

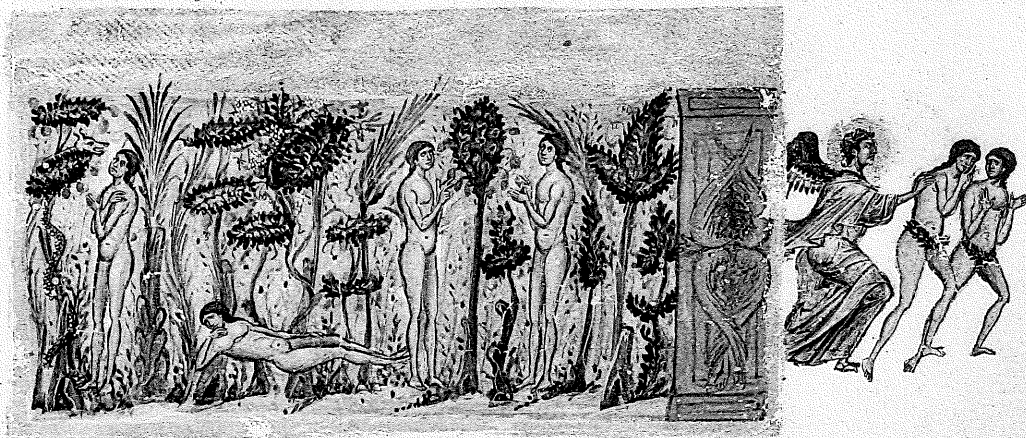
104. Fol. 72<sup>r</sup>: The Twelfth Rung; Sloth

ΕΠΙΔΕΙΞΕΤΑΙ·  
 ἵνα καὶ οὗτος πορναῖος καὶ  
 ἡλὸς πορνογῶν καὶ ἡλὸς  
 ὡς καὶ ἡ δὲ φθασαὶ πᾶσι  
 πορνογῶν καὶ πορνογῶν  
 ἀπόγονος καὶ ὁ δὲ ἡλὸς καὶ

105. Fol. 74<sup>r</sup>: The Thirteenth Rung; Gluttony

ὁ κτήνη εἰς τὸν παράδεισον  
 τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 καὶ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 οἱ τρεῖς οἱ κτήνη εἰς τὸν  
 οἱ τρεῖς οἱ κτήνη εἰς τὸν

ὁ κτήνη εἰς τὸν παράδεισον  
 τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 καὶ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς



πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος  
 ἡ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 καὶ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς

ὁ κτήνη εἰς τὸν παράδεισον  
 τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 καὶ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς

106. Fol. 78<sup>r</sup>: The Temptation and Expulsion

ὁ κτήνη εἰς τὸν παράδεισον  
 τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 καὶ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς

ὁ κτήνη εἰς τὸν παράδεισον  
 τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 καὶ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς



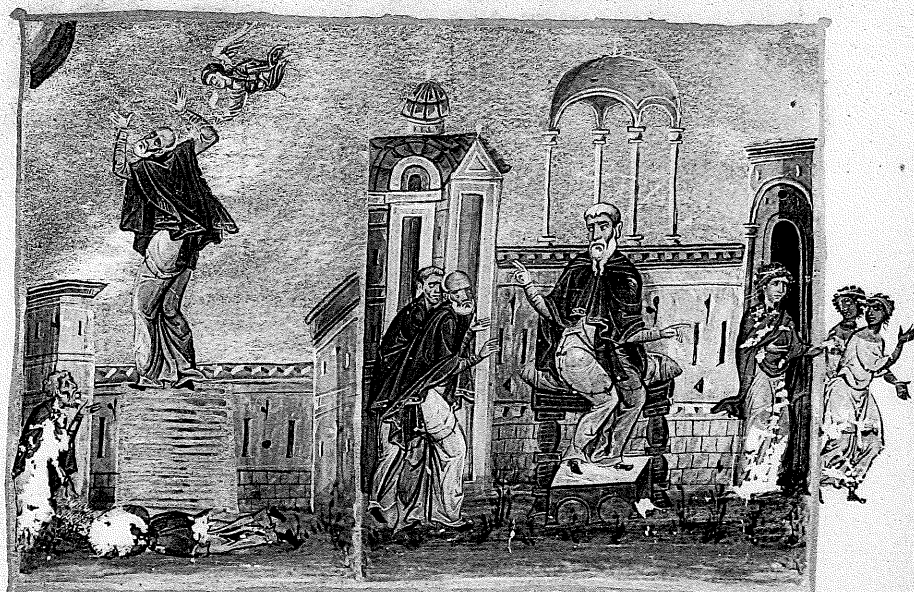
ὁ κτήνη εἰς τὸν παράδεισον  
 τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 καὶ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς

ὁ κτήνη εἰς τὸν παράδεισον  
 τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 καὶ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς  
 τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τῆς

107. Fol. 78<sup>v</sup>: The Fourteenth Rung; Chastity and Temperance



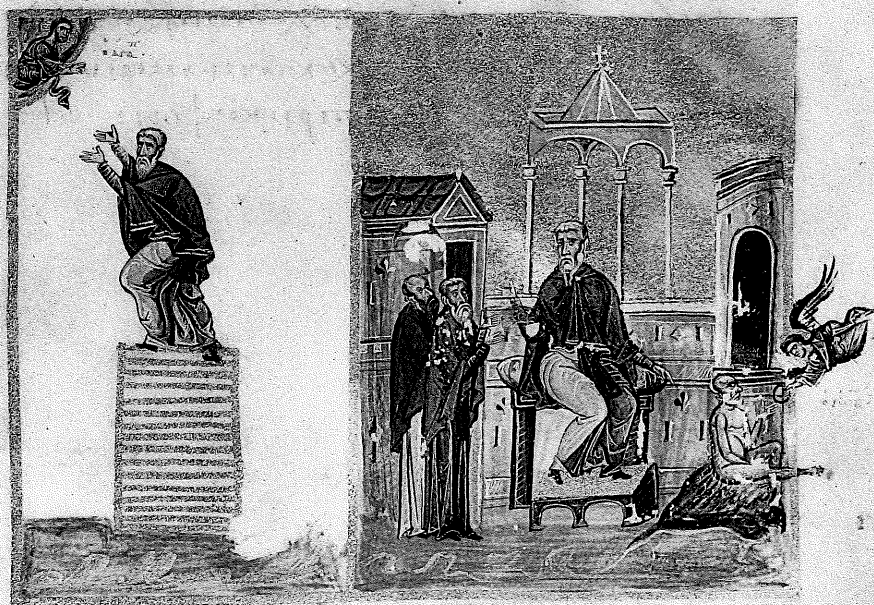
· 4 · IT:



περιφιλαρ  
περία: -  
Λίγοι ούσι τωρ σφ σνδιδαι  
σιν γωρ ωσ φι κασι μετ' αὐτ'

ἀσθενῶν-πρωτοψάλτῃ  
 γέροντι· ἡμεῶν προ-  
 μνηστῆς· ἀποχύας  
 ποιηδός· φιλῶν

108. Fol. 89<sup>v</sup>: The Fifteenth Rung; Avarice

$$\log \tilde{I}Z:$$


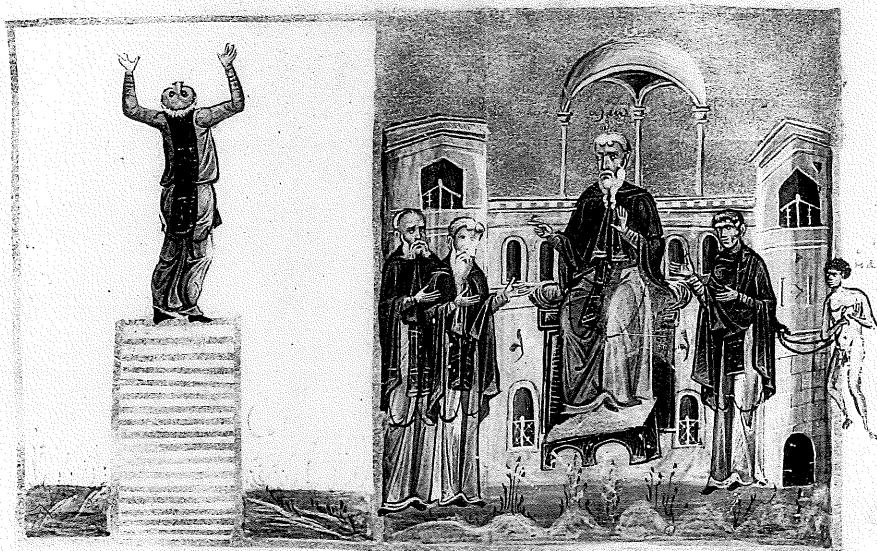
Ε' ΤΕΛΕΤΗ ΜΟΝΟΤΗΤΗΣ:-  
ΚΑΝΟΝΙΣΜΟΙ. ΦΡΟΝΤΙ  
ΔΟΝΤΙΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΣΤΑΝΤΟΣ

ἡ δὲ καὶ ἀκρίτως  
ἐργάταις διδρυσταῖς  
φύσας τῶν ποταμῶν

109. Fol. 90<sup>v</sup>: The Sixteenth Rung; Poverty



+ ΛΟΓΓΗ +



Εἰς ἀναστροφὴν αἰτῶν  
νεκρῶσιν ἡρώδης  
βασιλῆος τοῦ 22000. προ

αἰσῶν· βασιλῆος  
ἡρώδης· ἀπογνώσθω  
αἰσῶν· ἀπογνώσθω

αἰσῶν· ἀπογνώσθω  
αἰσῶν· ἀπογνώσθω  
αἰσῶν· ἀπογνώσθω

110. Fol. 92<sup>r</sup>: The Seventeenth Rung; Insensibility



Εἰς ὑπνὸν προσεῖς  
ταλαιπώλες

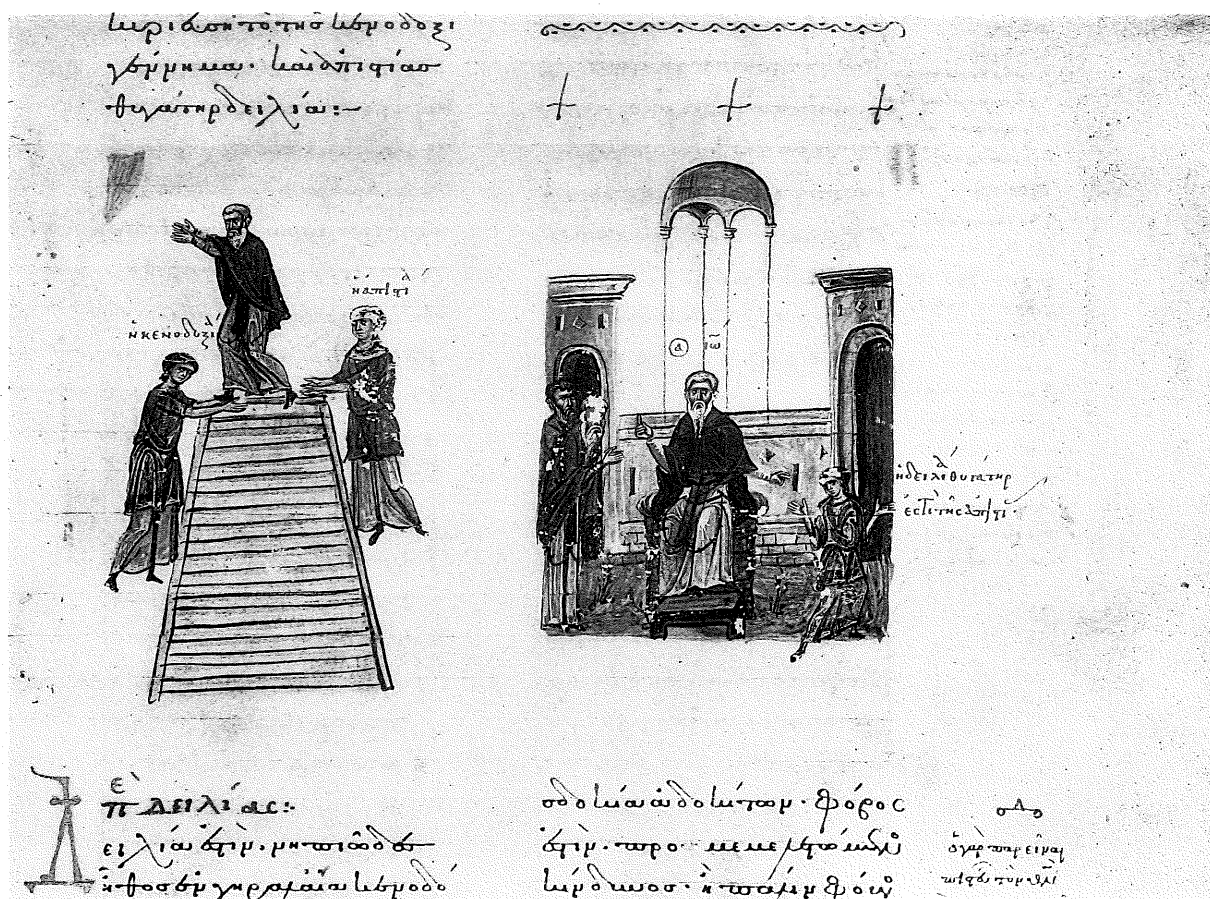
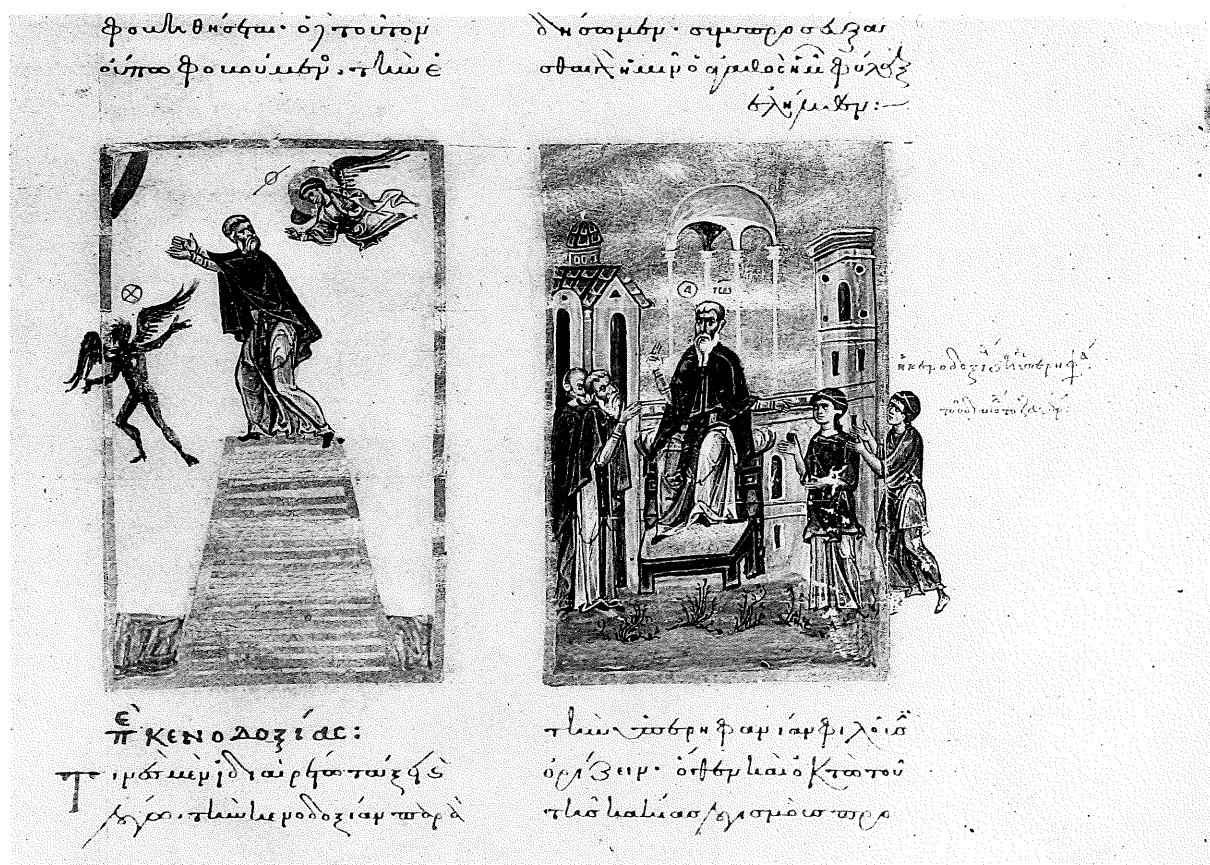
μητρίασ· ὁξῶσ· ἀπογνώσθω  
ἡρώδης· ἀπογνώσθω

αἰσῶν· ἀπογνώσθω  
αἰσῶν· ἀπογνώσθω  
αἰσῶν· ἀπογνώσθω

111. Fol. 94<sup>r</sup>: The Eighteenth Rung; Sleep, Prayer, and Psalm-singing





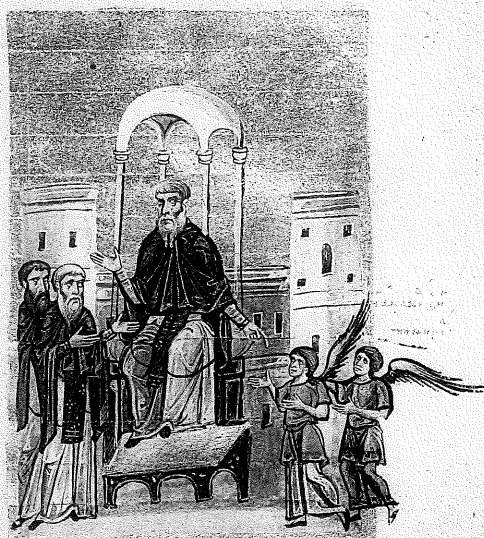
115. Fol. 97<sup>r</sup>: The Twentieth Rung; Timidity116. Fol. 98<sup>r</sup>: The Twenty-First Rung; Vainglory

117. Fol. 102<sup>r</sup>: The Twenty-Second Rung; Pride118. Fol. 105<sup>r</sup>: The Twenty-Third Rung; Blasphemy



ἡ καρδία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
νόμος ἐμὸς ἐστὶν ἡ καρδία

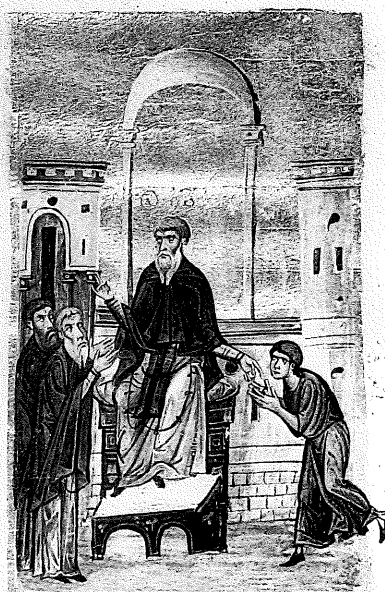
ἡ καρδία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
νόμος ἐμὸς ἐστὶν ἡ καρδία



ἡ πραότης ἡ ἀπλότης  
ἡ κακία ἡ σπουδή

ἡ καρδία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
νόμος ἐμὸς ἐστὶν ἡ καρδία

119. Fol. 107<sup>r</sup>: The Twenty-Third Rung; Meekness, Simplicity, Guilelessness, and Wickedness



ἡ πραότης ἡ ἀπλότης  
ἡ κακία ἡ σπουδή

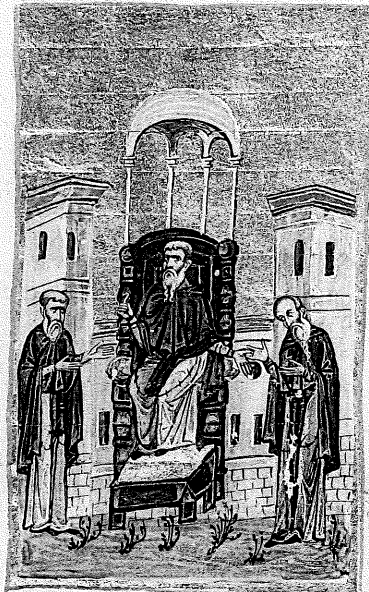
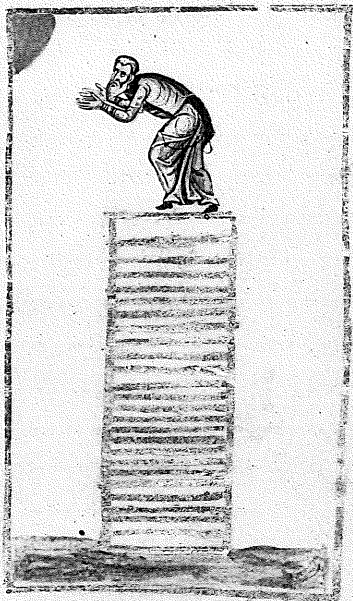
ἡ καρδία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
νόμος ἐμὸς ἐστὶν ἡ καρδία

120. Fol. 109<sup>v</sup>: The Twenty-Fourth Rung; Humility



λ' 105:

110

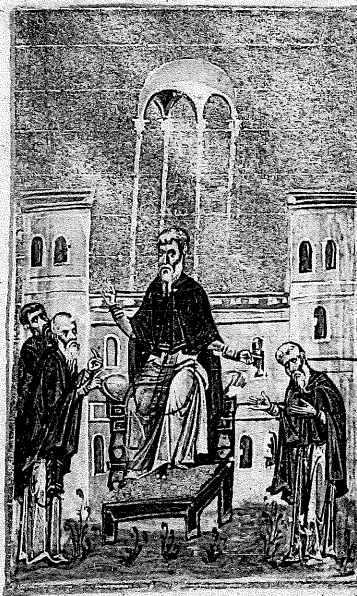


Εἰς ἀκρίσεως λόγῳ  
 εἰς παφῶν ἀρετῶν  
 ἰσχυρισμῶν· ἐν μέντοι  
 ἰσχυρισμῶν· ἐν μέντοι

ἐν ἀκρίσει· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ  
 μέγιστον καὶ φανερὸν ἐστὶν  
 αὐτοῦ· ἡ δὲ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρία  
 τοῦτο ἐστὶν· ἡ ἀκρίσει

ἀκρίσει· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ  
 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ· ἡ δὲ αὐτοῦ  
 μαρτυρία· ἡ ἀκρίσει

121. Fol. 117<sup>r</sup>: The Twenty-Fifth Rung; Discretion



Εἰς ἀκρίσεως λόγῳ  
 εἰς παφῶν ἀρετῶν  
 ἰσχυρισμῶν· ἐν μέντοι  
 ἰσχυρισμῶν· ἐν μέντοι

ποῖα τὰ τῶν παρρησιῶν  
 τῶν λατρίων ἀνὰ πᾶσι  
 τῶν ὁφειλόμενων ἀνὰ πᾶσι

122. Fol. 123<sup>r</sup>: The Twenty-Sixth Rung; Discretion



τοῦ ἀνβαῖν τοῦ  
 καὶ οὐρόν· ἀνα  
 κεφαλῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ·  
 ἰστοῦ καὶ αἰῶν· ἀπὸ τῆς  
 μητρὸς τοῦ ὁμοῦ πατρὸς  
 δακλῶν· ὁμοῦ πατρὸς  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ

καὶ αἰῶν· ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 καὶ αἰῶν· ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 καὶ αἰῶν· ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 καὶ αἰῶν· ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 καὶ αἰῶν· ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ

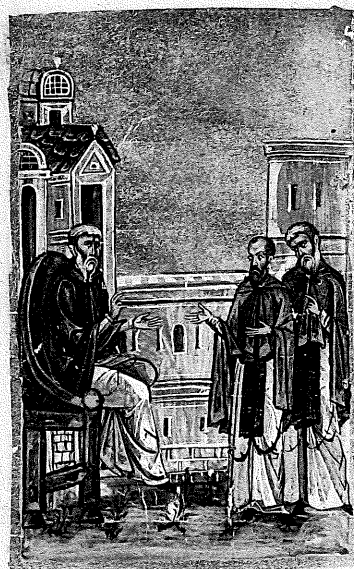
123. Fol. 132<sup>r</sup>: John Climacus Teaching



ἡ πρώτη ἐκ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν  
 ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν

Ρ  
 ὁμοῦ πατρὸς  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 καὶ αἰῶν· ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ

Η  
 ὁμοῦ πατρὸς  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 καὶ αἰῶν· ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ

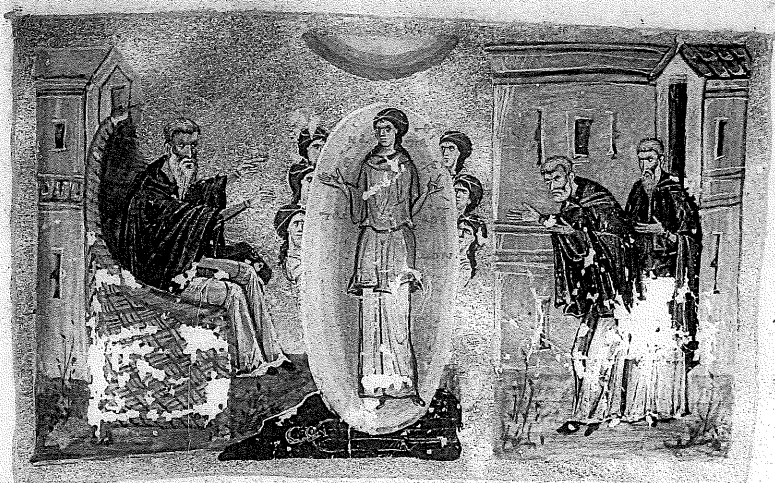


αὐτοῦ πατρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 καὶ αἰῶν· ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 καὶ αἰῶν· ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 καὶ αἰῶν· ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ

124. Fol. 135<sup>v</sup>: The Twenty-Sixth Rung; Solitude



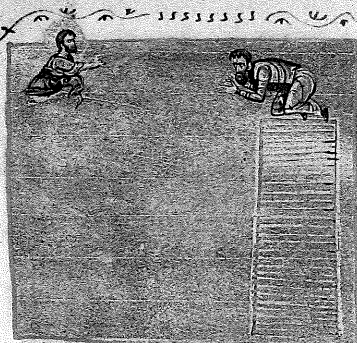
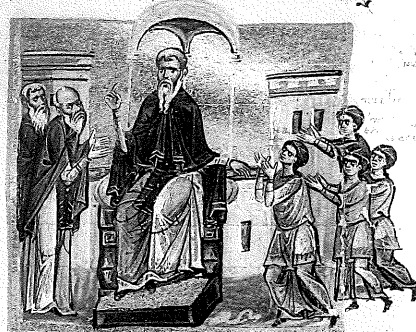




ἡ τοῖς ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς ἀποστόλοις  
 ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης τῆς ἐκείνης τῆς ἐκείνης  
 ἀποστολῆς καὶ ἀποστολῆς καὶ ἀποστολῆς  
 τῆς ἐκείνης τῆς ἐκείνης τῆς ἐκείνης  
 ἀποστολῆς καὶ ἀποστολῆς καὶ ἀποστολῆς  
 τῆς ἐκείνης τῆς ἐκείνης τῆς ἐκείνης  
 ἀποστολῆς καὶ ἀποστολῆς καὶ ἀποστολῆς

129. Fol. 149<sup>v</sup>: Tranquillity

ὅσοι γὰρ ὄραμεν τὸν κ' ἰδὼν  
 τοῦ τρὺ πάμε γ' ὀρίαν.  
 ὅσοι κε αὐτοῖς ὄξ' οὐ π' ἀρτί  
 λ' αὖ β' ἴδ' ἴσθαι ἱπ' ὀρ.

[illegible][illegible]

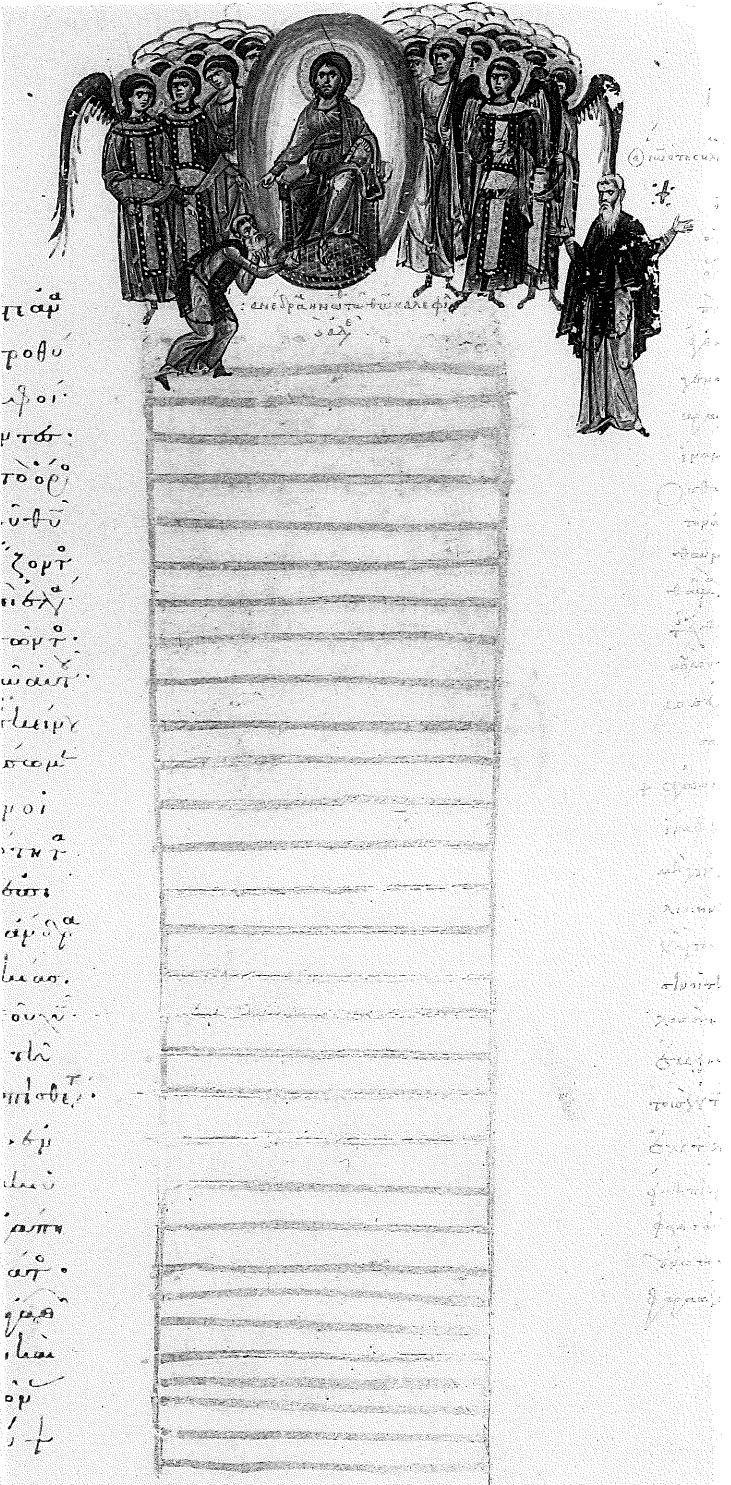
καὶ κρεμυρεῖ· τὴν δὲ  
ἐλπίδα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ  
σοφίαν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀληθεῖα  
σχιστομωοῖ· ἡ δὲ οὐδὲ  
πιστεῖ· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει τοῦ θεοῦ·  
οὐ γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν αὐτῇ·

130. Fol. 151<sup>v</sup>: The Twenty-Ninth Rung; Faith, Hope, and Charity





131. Fol. 154<sup>r</sup>: The Thirtieth Rung



132. Fol. 155<sup>r</sup>: The Monk Receiving his Reward





133. ATHOS, STAURONIKITA. Cod. 50. Fol. 1<sup>v</sup>:  
The Heavenly Ladder



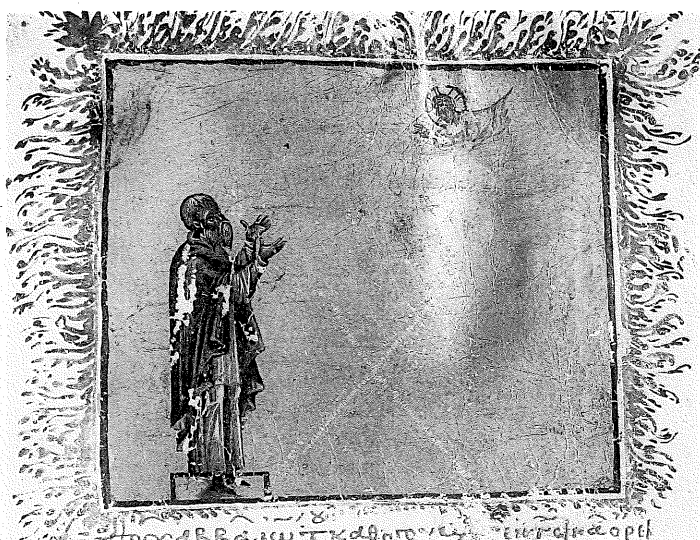
134. Fol. 3<sup>r</sup>: John Climacus (?)



135. Fol. 11<sup>v</sup>: The Author Portrait



Ἡ γραφή εἰς τὴν οὐρανὸν ἔστιν ἡ πρώτη:



136. Fol. 12<sup>r</sup>: The First Rung



137. Fol. 20<sup>r</sup>: The Second Rung

Ἐκ παντὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνὴρ ἀποστρέφεται τὴν ὄψιν  
πρὸς τὴν ἀριστερὰν καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν.

Λόγος

πλείονες ἐλεεινὸν δεῖν εἶδέναι  
ἀλλὰ τὸ ὡς ἐν τῷ πελάγει διασπασθῶσι  
ἐν τῷ λιμένι ναυαγίσαντας:

διυπέρω ἀνάβας· ὁ τρεῖς ἡμέρας  
τῆς ὕψους ἀνὰ τὴν τὸν ἡλίου  
ἐκείνου μένος φέρεται:



πρὸς τὴν ἀριστερὰν καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν  
ἐν τῷ πελάγει διασπασθῶσι  
ἐν τῷ λιμένι ναυαγίσαντας:

138. Fol. 24<sup>r</sup>: The Third Rung

ἡ πλὴν ὅσων τυχάνω, πάντας ἡντοῖς  
αὐτῶν περιπέσεται βρόχος, ἡ τὴν  
καρδίαν ἐν τῇ περὶ τὸ στήθερ ῥοῖο  
χωθήσεται· ἡ μὲν μοχλωόμενος  
τοιοῦτο μοχλωόμενος κατακρίνεται,  
καὶ αὐτὸς μοχλωθήσεται:



πρὸς τὴν ἀριστερὰν καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν  
ἐν τῷ πελάγει διασπασθῶσι  
ἐν τῷ λιμένι ναυαγίσαντας:

139. Fol. 28<sup>v</sup>: Dreams





Λόγος Η

Θήτω· ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς  
τὸ τὸ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς



περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνης· ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς  
τὸ τὸ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς

144. Fol. 89r: The Eighth Rung

ἡ δὲ ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς  
τὸ τὸ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς

ἡ δὲ ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς  
τὸ τὸ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς



περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνης· ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς  
τὸ τὸ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς

145. Fol. 94r: The Ninth Rung

Λόγος Ι

ἡ δὲ ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς  
τὸ τὸ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς

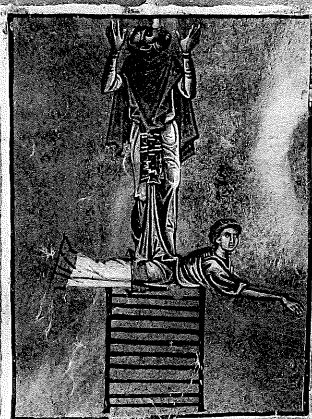


περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνης· ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς  
τὸ τὸ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς

146. Fol. 96r: The Tenth Rung

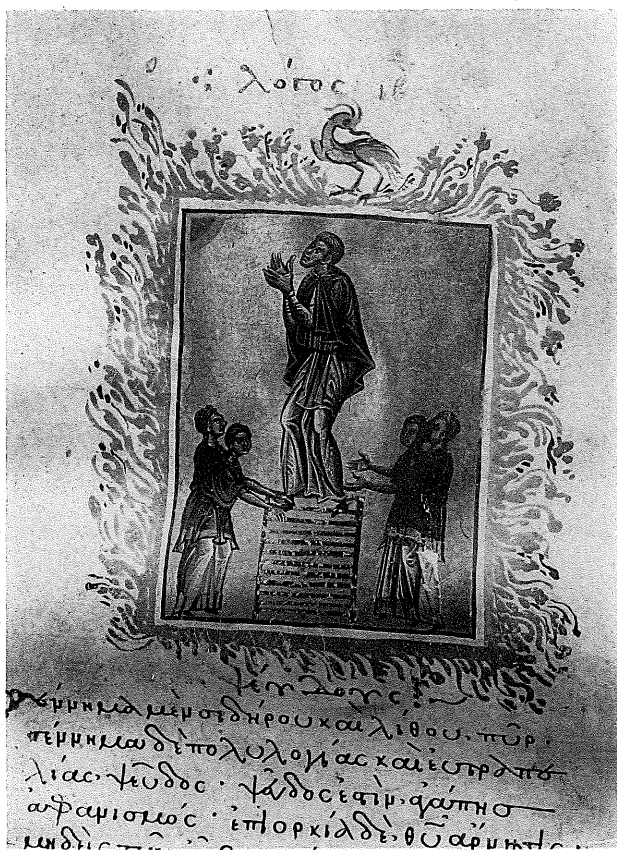
Λόγος ΙΑ

ἡ δὲ ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς  
τὸ τὸ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς

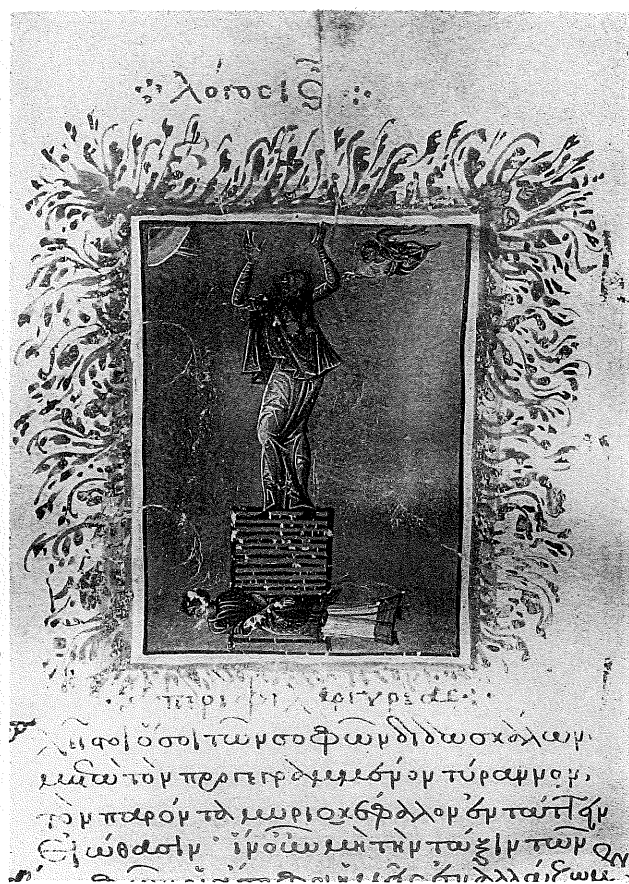


περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνης· ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς  
τὸ τὸ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἀλά-  
τορ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· τὰ τὸ γαῖον ὡς

147. Fol. 98r: The Eleventh Rung

148. Fol. 100<sup>r</sup>: The Twelfth Rung149. Fol. 101<sup>v</sup>: The Thirteenth Rung150. Fol. 103<sup>v</sup>: The Fourteenth Rung151. Fol. 109<sup>r</sup>: The Fifteenth Rung

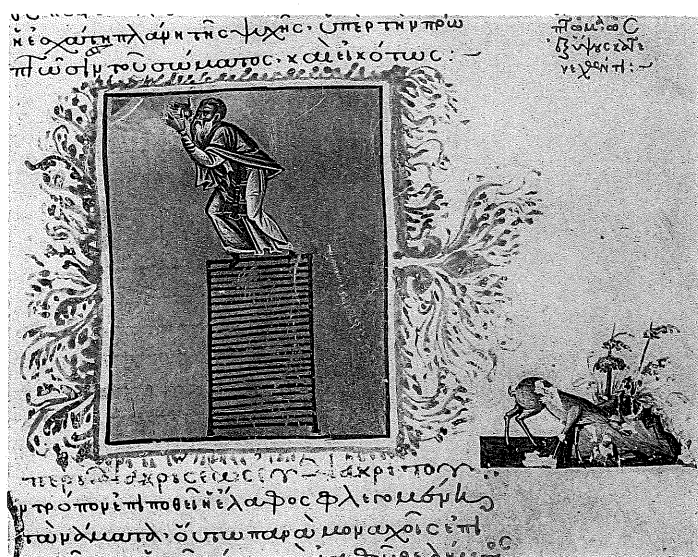


152. Fol. 123<sup>v</sup>: The Sixteenth Rung153. Fol. 124<sup>v</sup>: The Seventeenth Rung154. Fol. 126<sup>r</sup>: The Eighteenth Rung155. Fol. 128<sup>v</sup>: The Nineteenth Rung









164. Fol. 174<sup>r</sup>: The Twenty-Sixth Rung



166. Fol. 190<sup>r</sup>: The Twenty-Seventh Rung

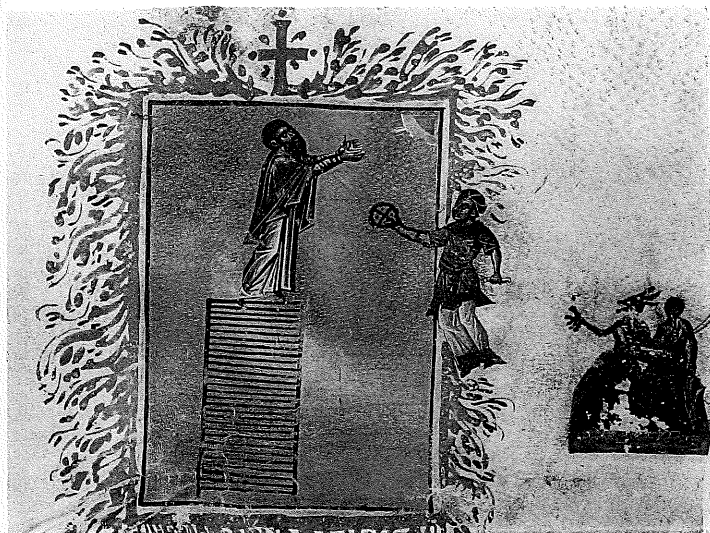


165. Fol. 185<sup>v</sup>: John Climacus (?)



167. Fol. 201<sup>r</sup>: Prayer





168. Fol. 208<sup>v</sup>: The Twenty-Ninth Rung

ἡ καὶ ἀποκοπίας παῶν ἡ εἰρήνη, πτωχόν,  
ἡ μακρὰ ἀπάθεια. ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη,  
ποιεῖ τὸ καλὸς διὰ τὸν μετὰ ἄρχοντα  
αἰετῶν μετὰ ἄρχοντων λαόν κτλ.



περί τῶν συνεισέχοντες τὰς αἰετῶν  
αὐτῶν τοῖς πομπῶν παρὰ τὰ πνεύματα  
μόρεται τὰ τρία ταῦτα. τὸν σὺν δεσμοῖς  
ὁ θεὸς φέροντα καὶ κρατοῦντα καὶ ἐκείνους  
τείνοντα. πῶς· ὁ πῶς· ὁ πῶς· ὁ πῶς·  
παρὰ τῶν ἡρώων· ὁ πῶς· ὁ πῶς· ὁ πῶς·  
πλήρως τὴν μέν, αὐτὴν ὁ πῶς· τὴν δὲ  
φῶς, τὴν δὲ, κύκλον· παρὰ τῶν δὲ, ἐν  
ἀπαύγασμα, καὶ μὴ ἀλλοτρίωται.

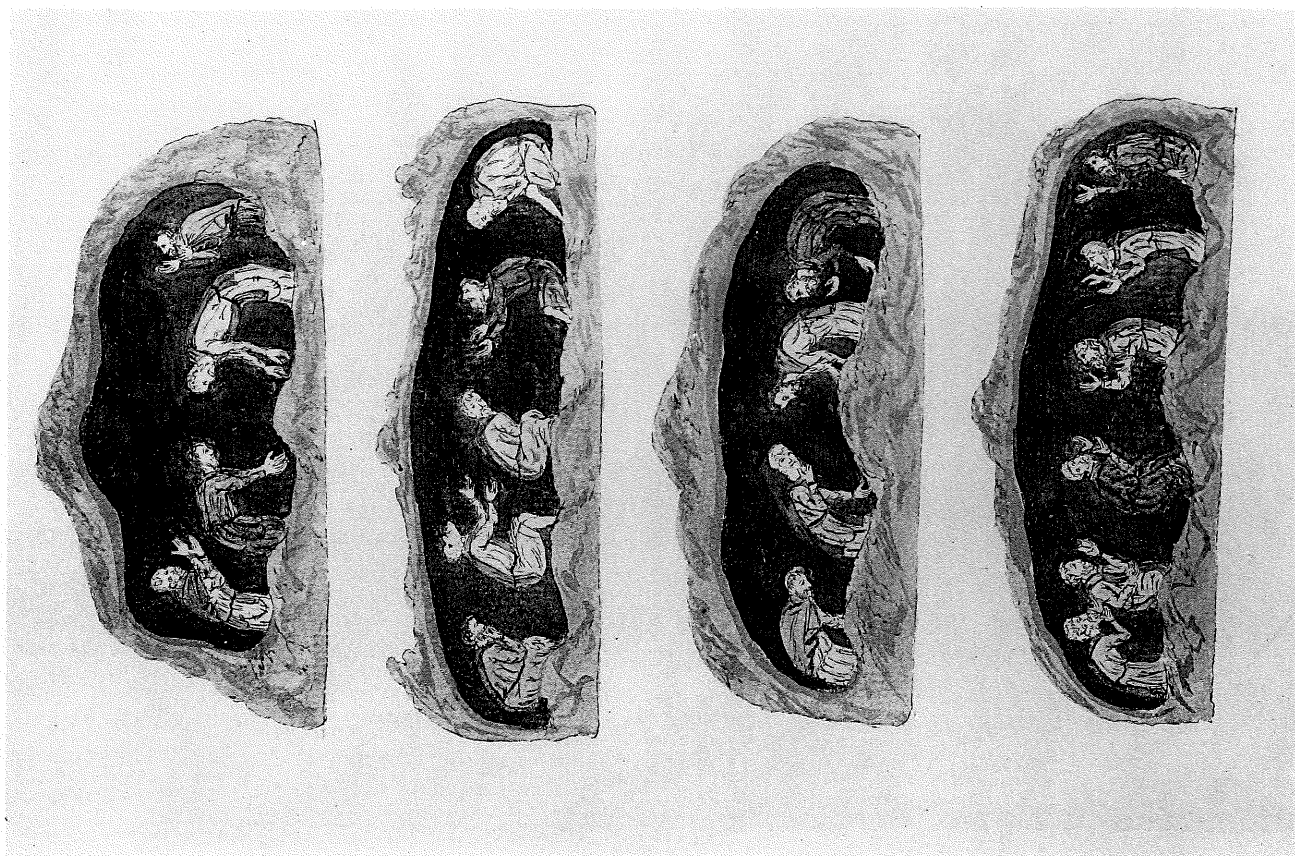
169. Fol. 211<sup>v</sup>: The Thirtieth Rung



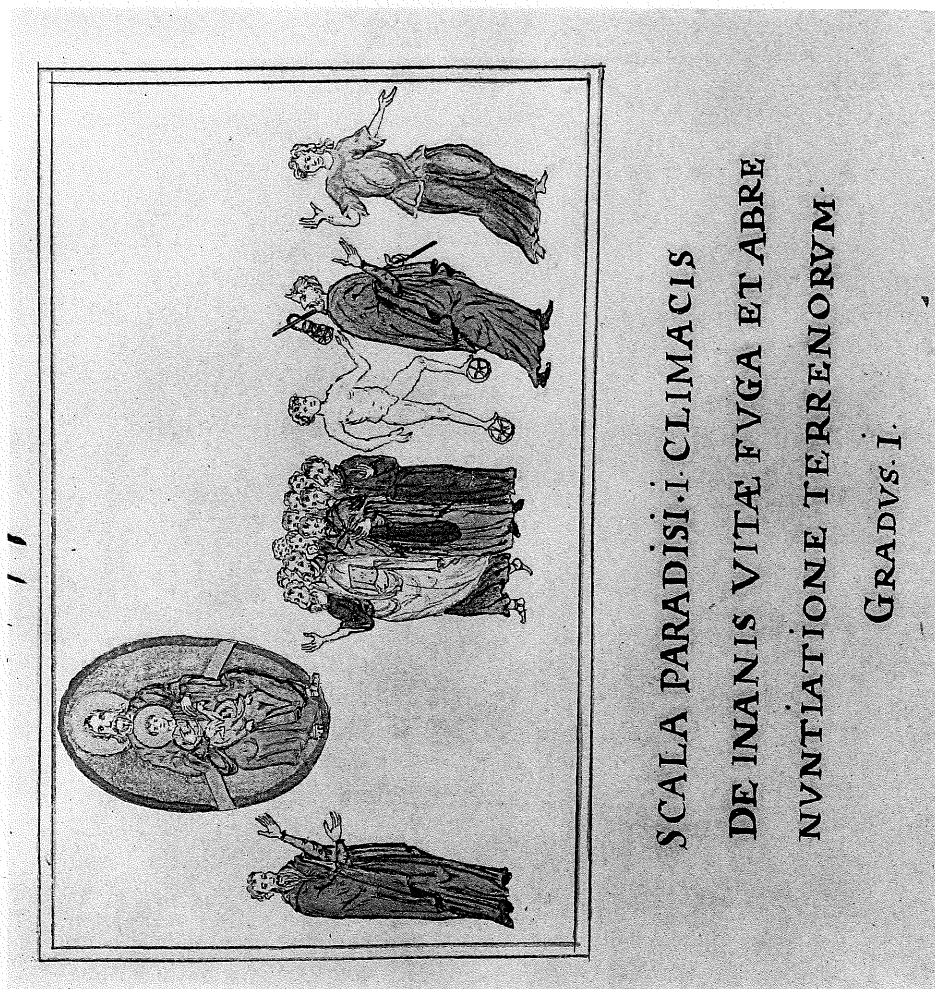
170. Fol. 217<sup>r</sup>: John Climacus and John of Raithu (Homily to the Pastor)



171. Fol. 233<sup>v</sup>: John Climacus (Homily to the Pastor)

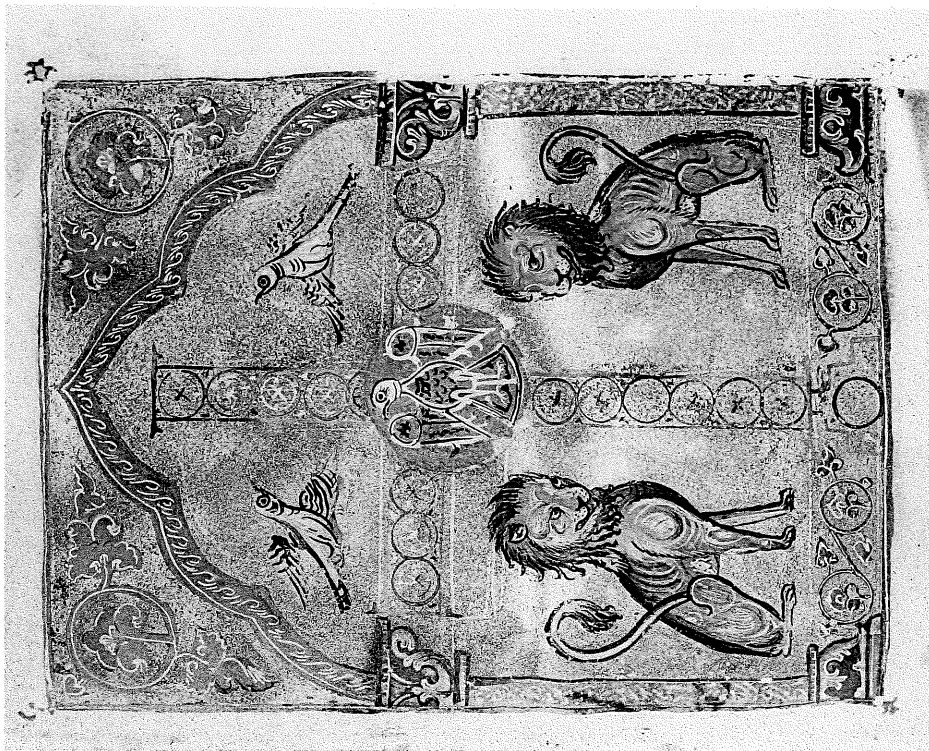


173. Fol. 13<sup>r</sup>: Penitents

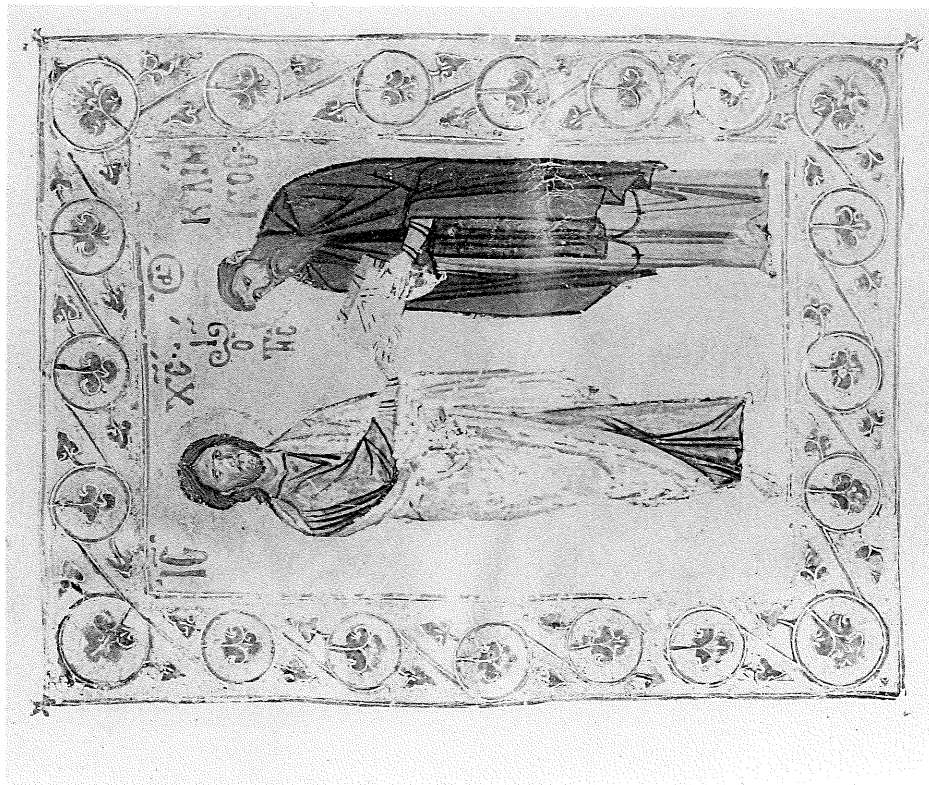


172. Fol. 1<sup>r</sup>: Renunciation of Life





174. Fol. 2<sup>r</sup>: Frontispiece

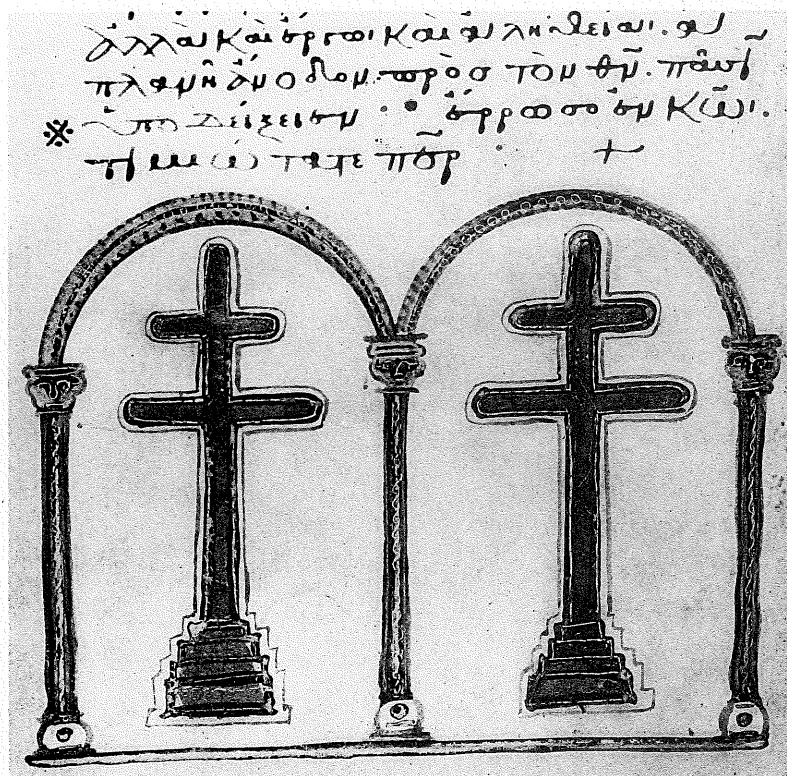


175. Fol. 2<sup>v</sup>: John Climacus Offering His Book to Christ

174-175. SINAI. Cod. gr. 418



176. Fol. 3<sup>r</sup>: The Exchange of Letters



177. Fol. 4<sup>v</sup>: Two Crosses

176-177. SINAI. Cod. gr. 418





181. Fol. 27<sup>r</sup>: Dispassionateness

180-181. SINAI. Cod. gr. 418







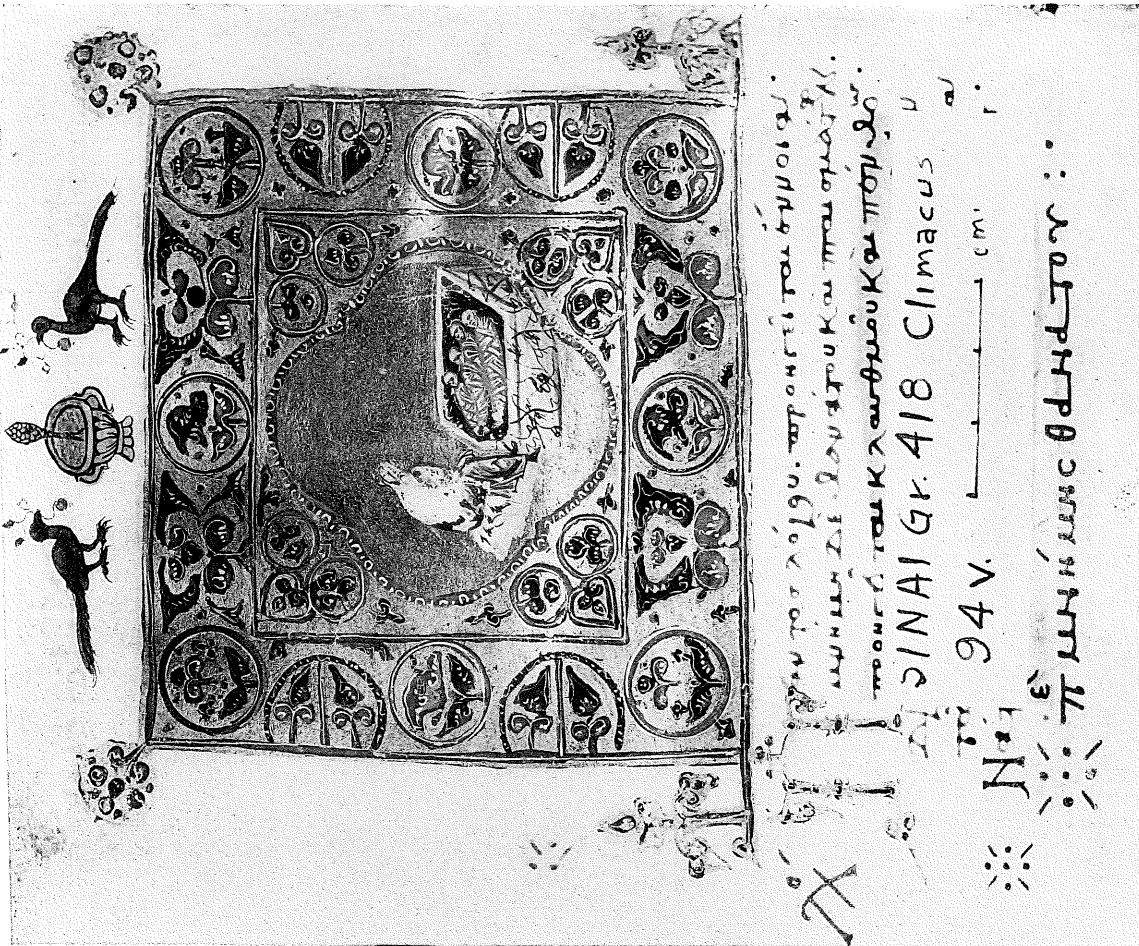
184. Fol. 39r: Obedience

184-185. SINAI. Cod. gr. 418



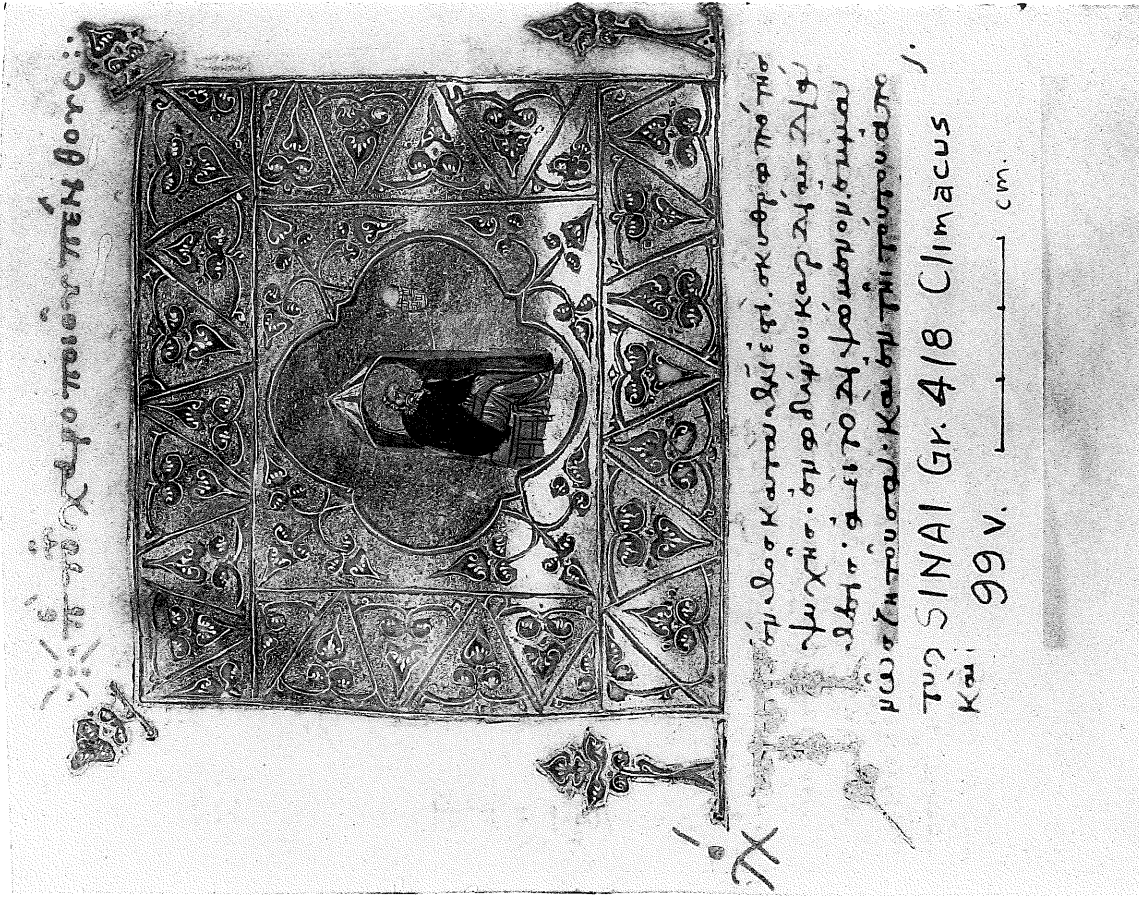
185. Fol. 79r: Penitence





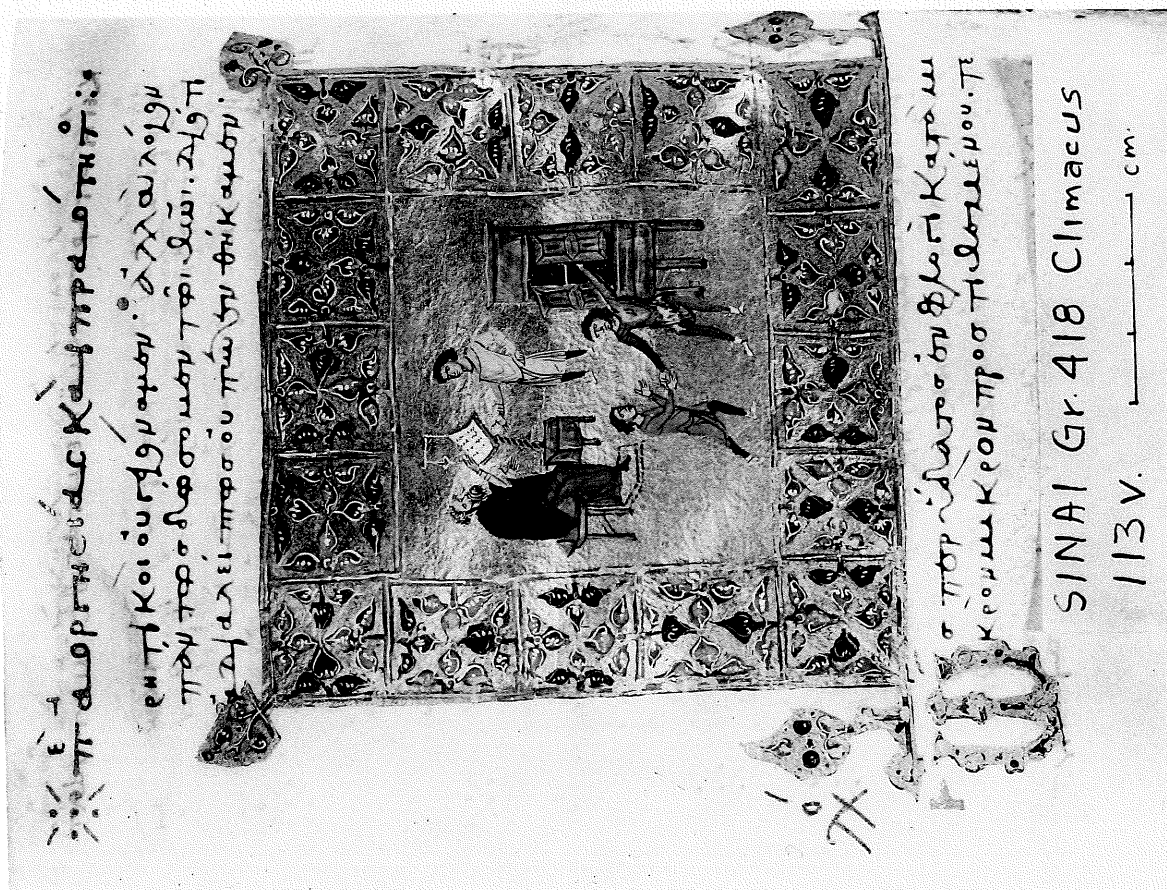
186. Fol. 94<sup>v</sup>: Remembrance of Death

186-187. SINAI. Cod. gr. 418



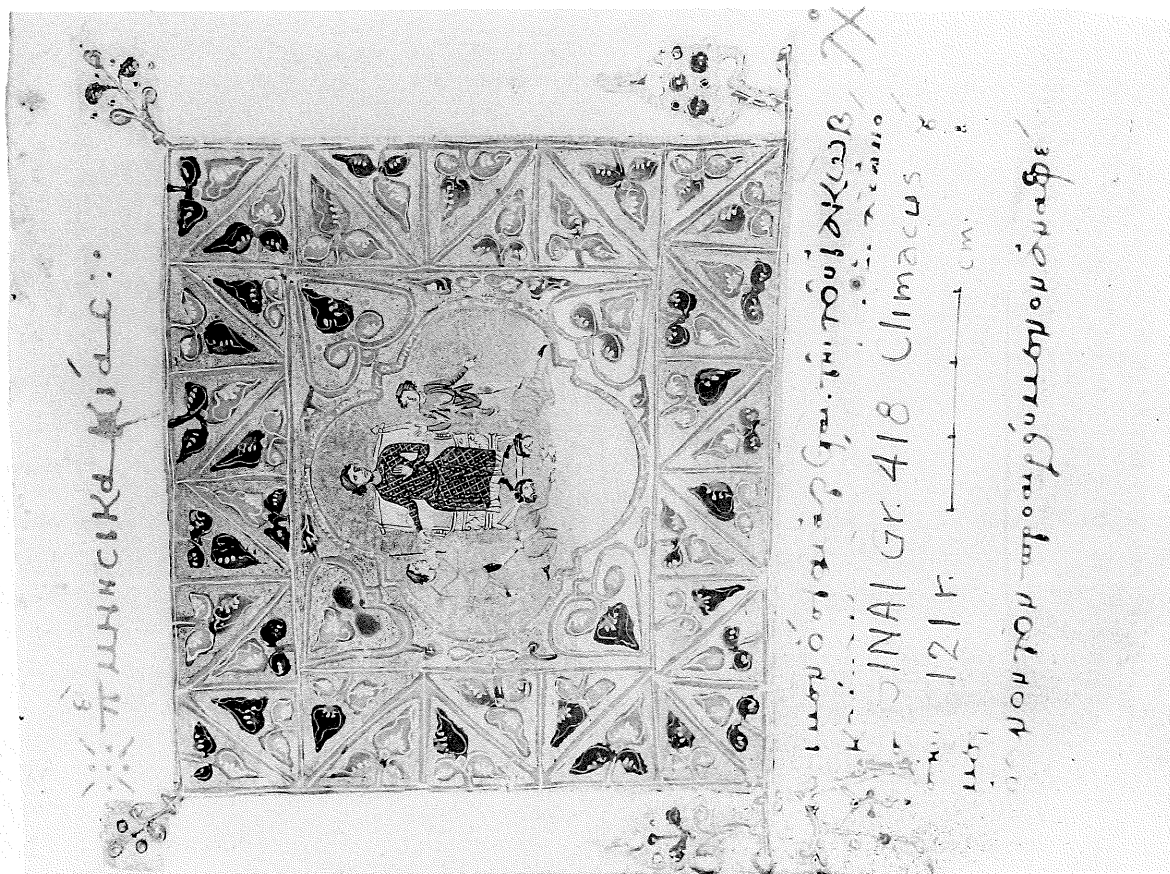
187. Fol. 99<sup>v</sup>: Sorrow

186-187. SINAI. Cod. gr. 418



188. Fol. 113<sup>v</sup>: Placidity and Meekness

188-189. SINAI. Cod. gr. 418



189. Fol. 121<sup>r</sup>: Malice

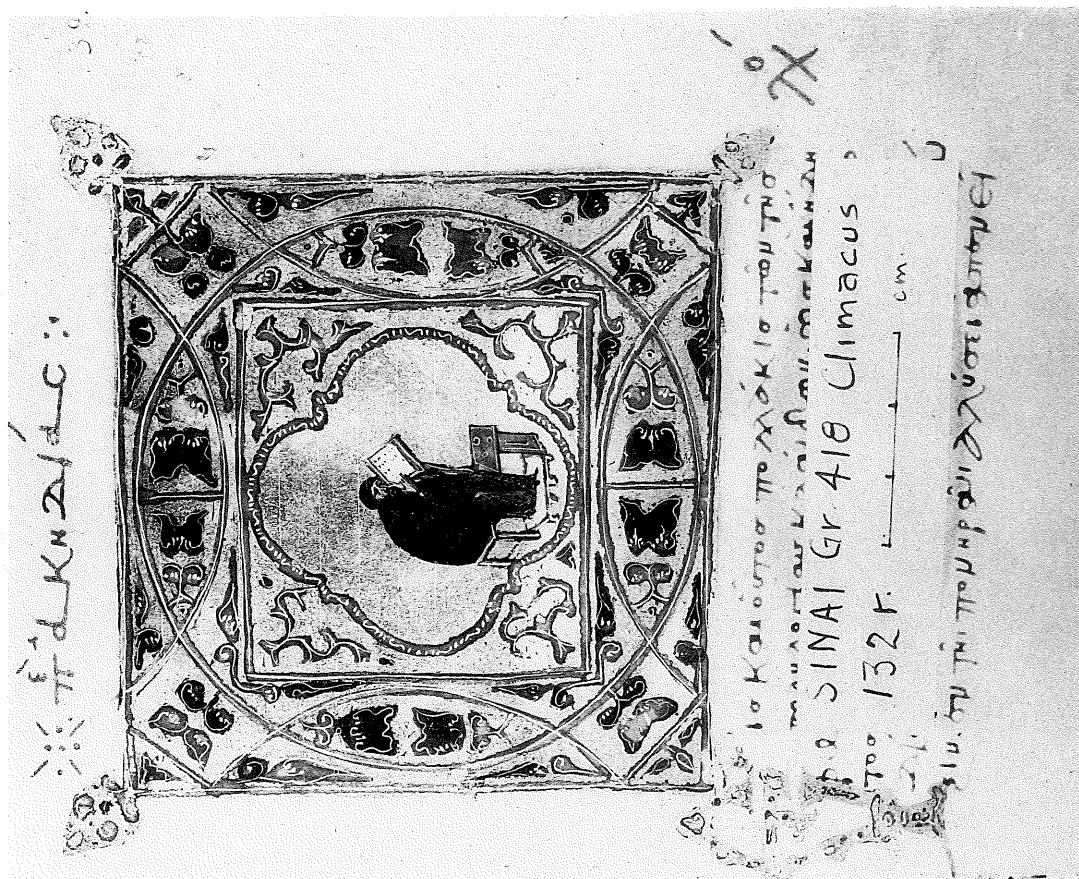






192. Fol. 129<sup>v</sup>: Falsehood

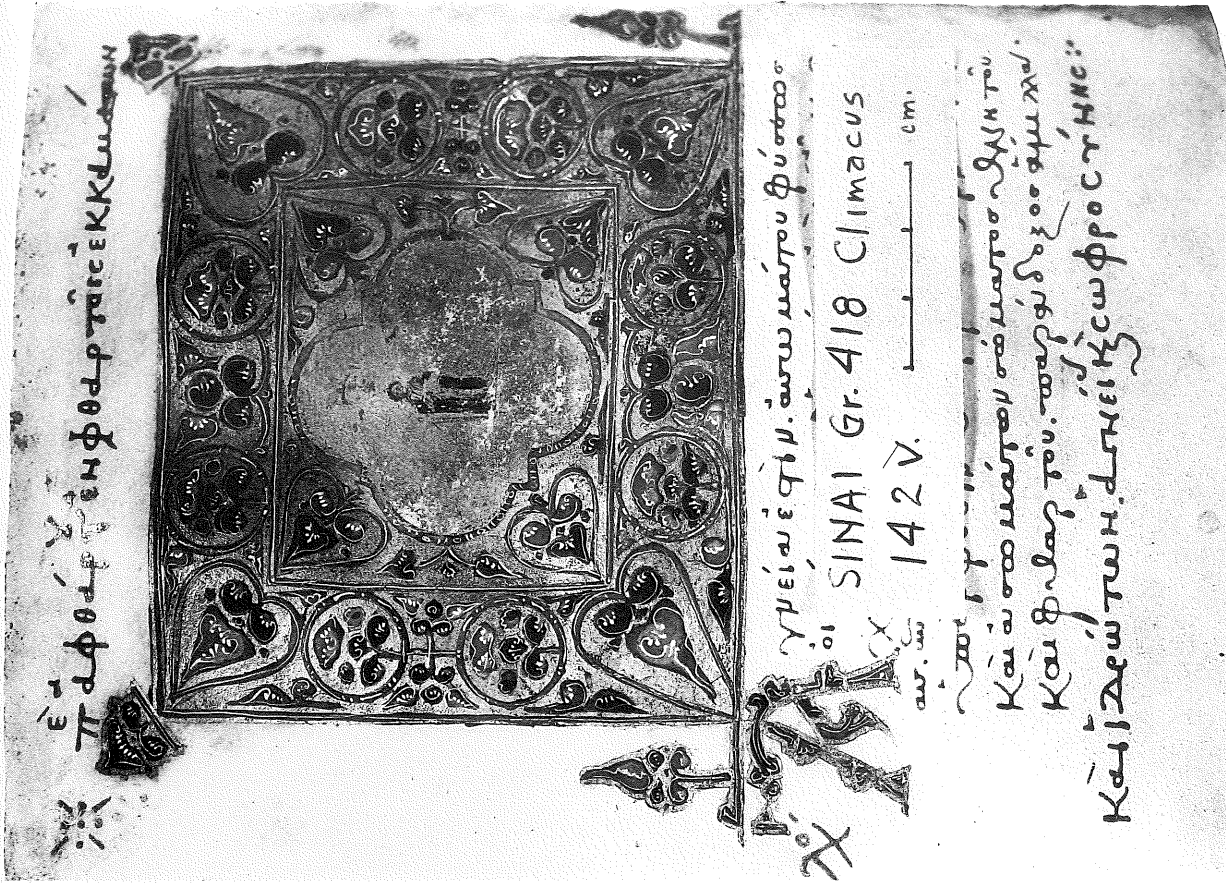
192-193. SINAI. Cod. gr. 418



193. Fol. 132<sup>r</sup>: Sloth

192-193. SINAI. Cod. gr. 418





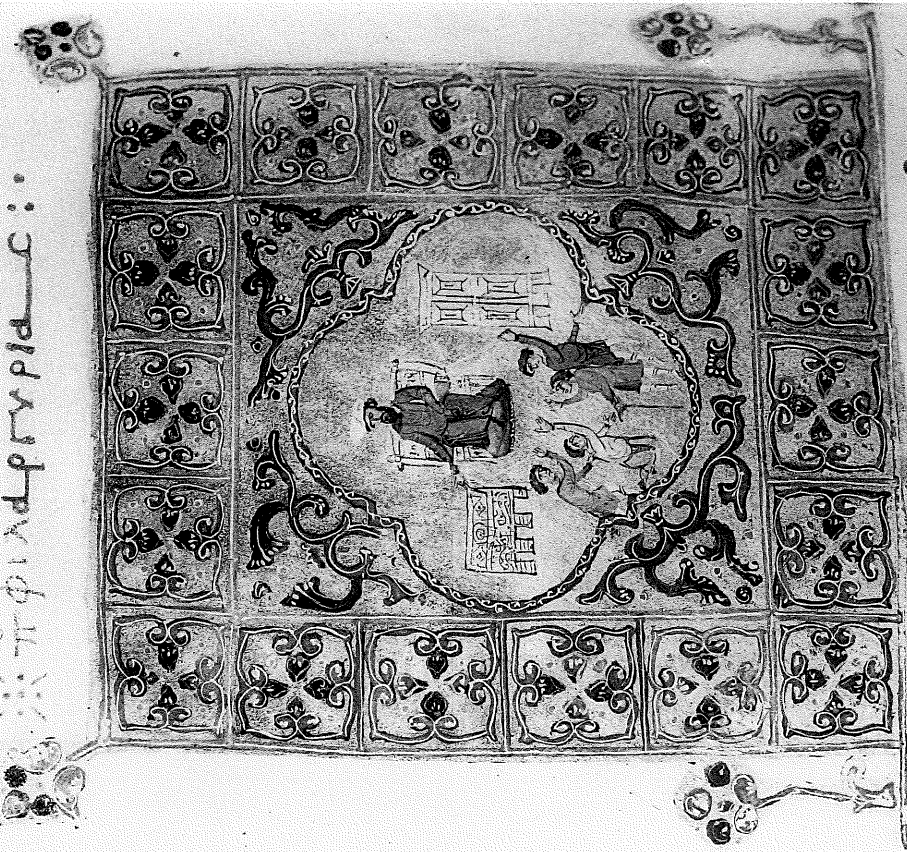
195. Fol. 142v: Chastity and Temperance

194-195. SINAI. Cod. gr. 418



194. Fol. 135r: Gluttony

$\frac{1}{2} \log p^2 = \log p$

[illegible]

SINAI Gr. 418  
Climacus

102 v.

196. Fol. 162<sup>v</sup>: Avarice

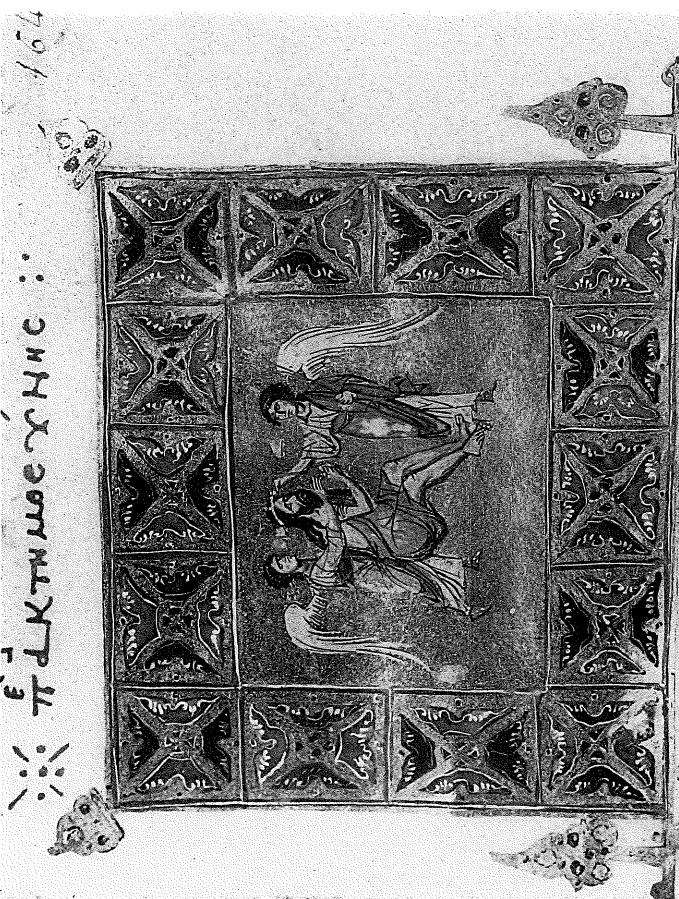
196-198. SINAI. Cod. gr. 418

Σ 67000 Kainji 24/5/2000



197. Fol. 163<sup>r</sup>: Avarice

$\frac{1}{\pi} \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} f(x) dx$



ΚΤΗΜΟΣΥΝΗ ΕΓΓ. ΦΡΟΜΤΙΔΩΝ ΕΠΟ  
de SINA I Gr. 418 Climacus

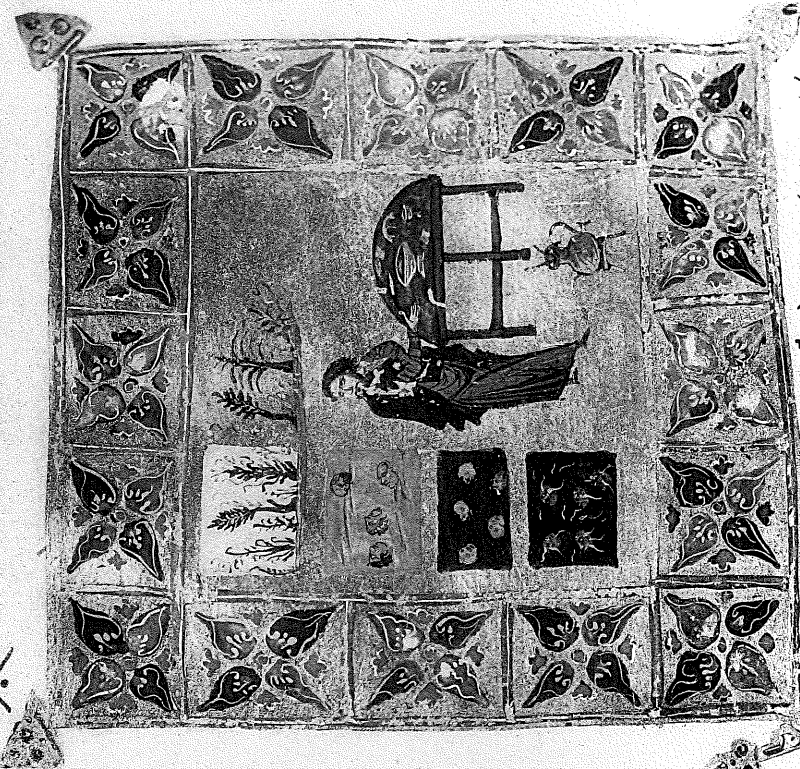
de SINAL Gr. 418 Climacus

no. 164 F.

198. Fol. 164<sup>r</sup>: Poverty



ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ



ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ  
SINAI Gr. 418 Climacus

166v

199. Fol. 166v: Insensibility

199-200. SINAI. Cod. gr. 418

ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ

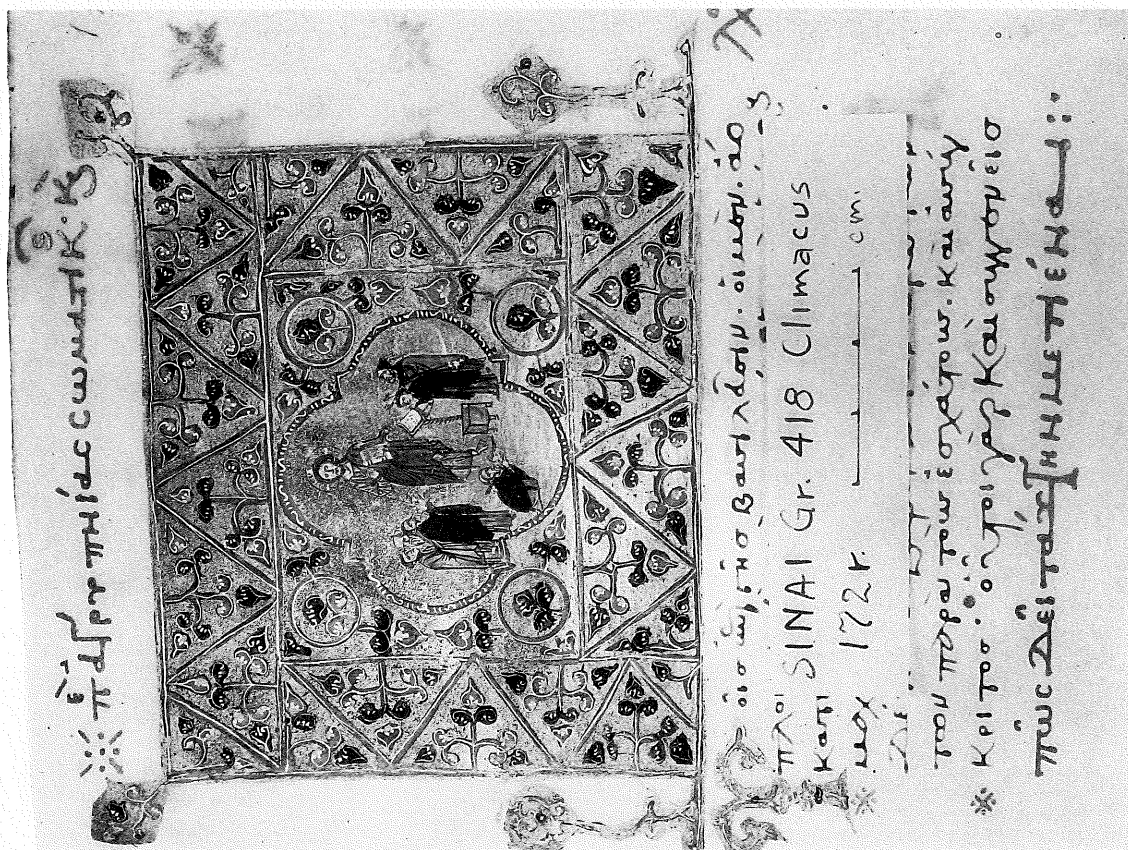


ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ  
SINAI Gr. 418 Climacus

170r

ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ

200. Fol. 170r: Sleep, Prayer, and Psalm-singing



201. Fol. 172<sup>r</sup>: Wakefulness

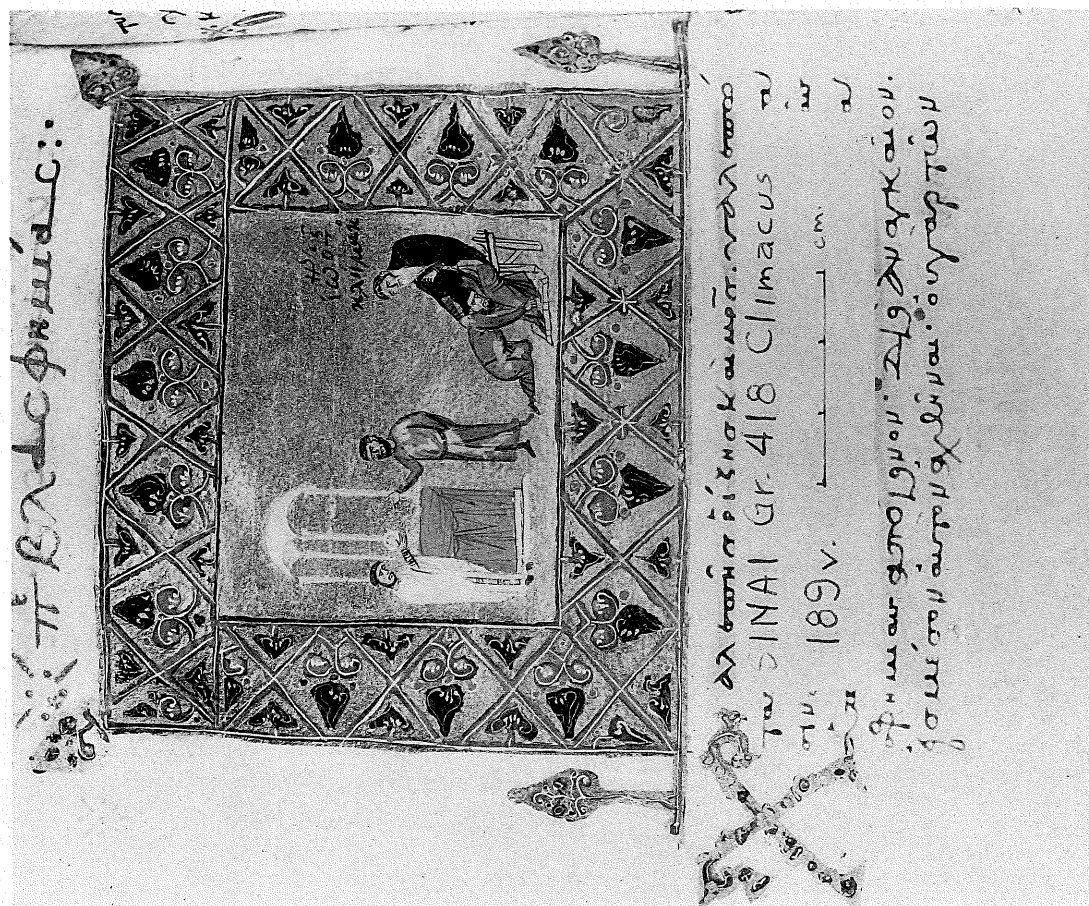
201-202. SINAI. Cod. gr. 418



202. Fol. 175<sup>r</sup>: Timidity





205. Fol. 189<sup>v</sup>: Blasphemy206. Fol. 193<sup>v</sup>: Meekness, Simplicity, Guilelessness, and Wickedness





207. Fol. 197v: Humility

207-208. SINAI. Cod. gr. 418

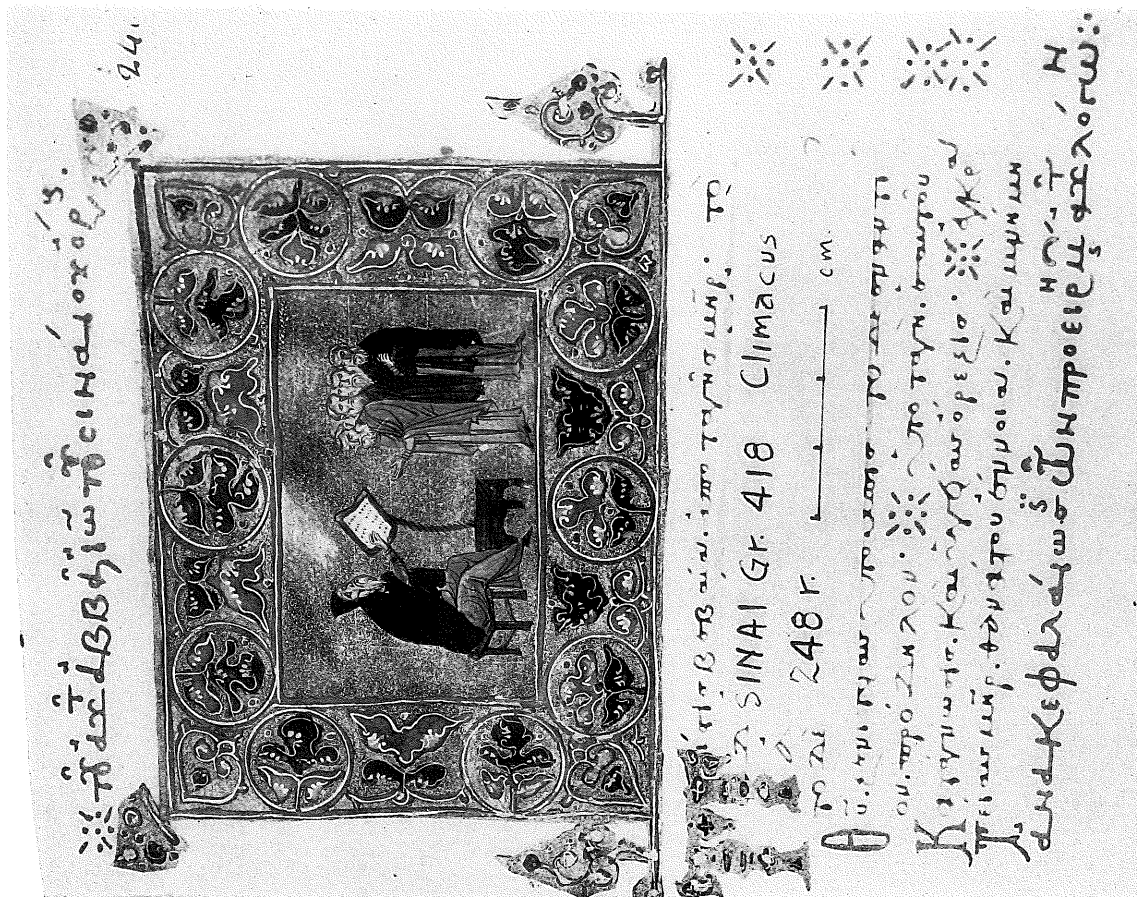


208. Fol. 211r: Discretion



209. Fol. 23<sup>v</sup>: Discretion

209-210. SINAI. Cod. gr. 418

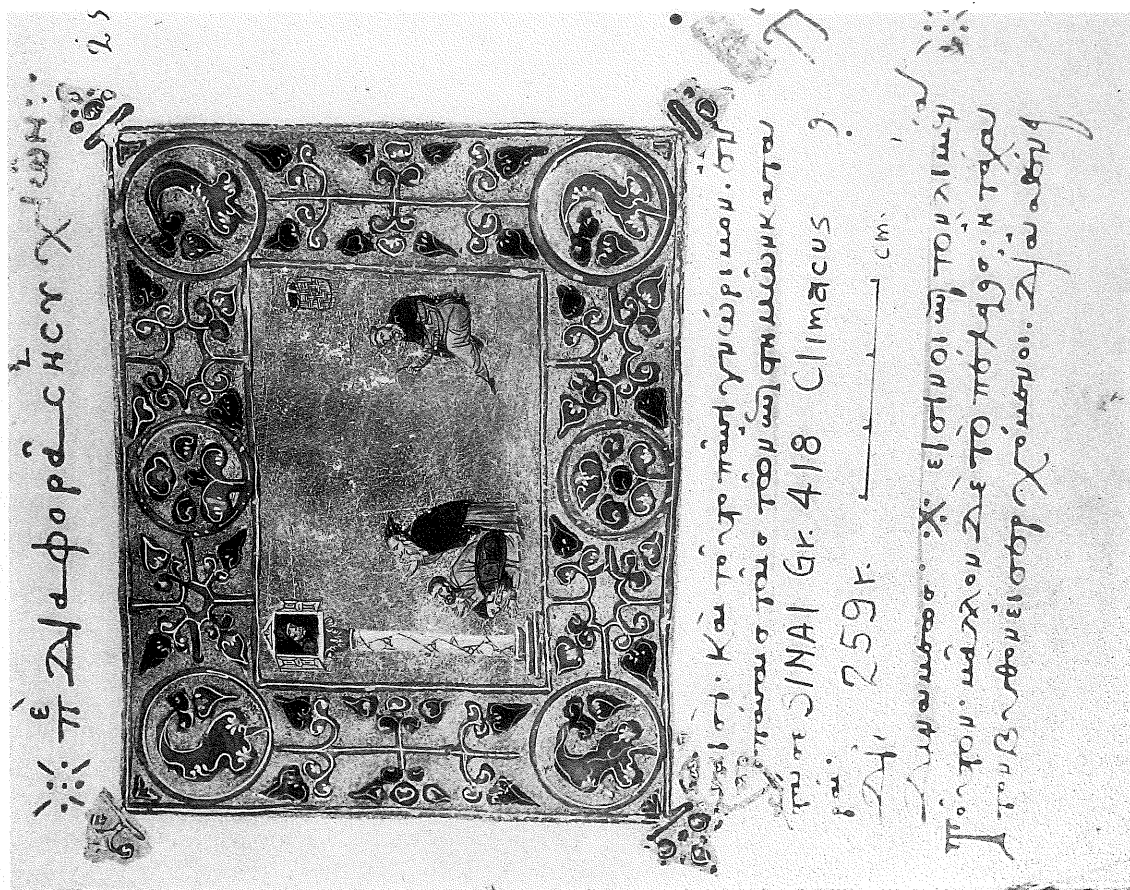


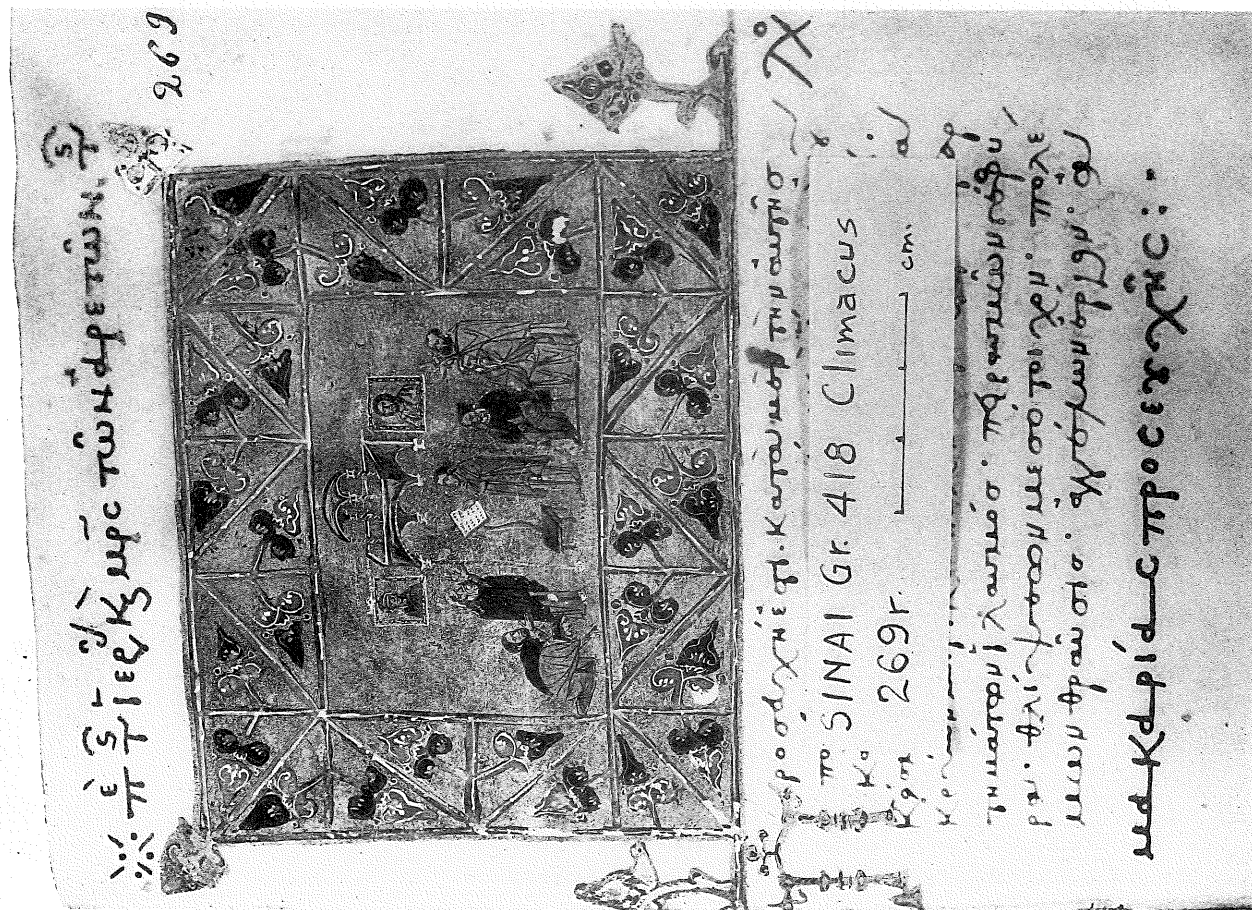
210. Fol. 248<sup>r</sup>: John Climacus Teaching



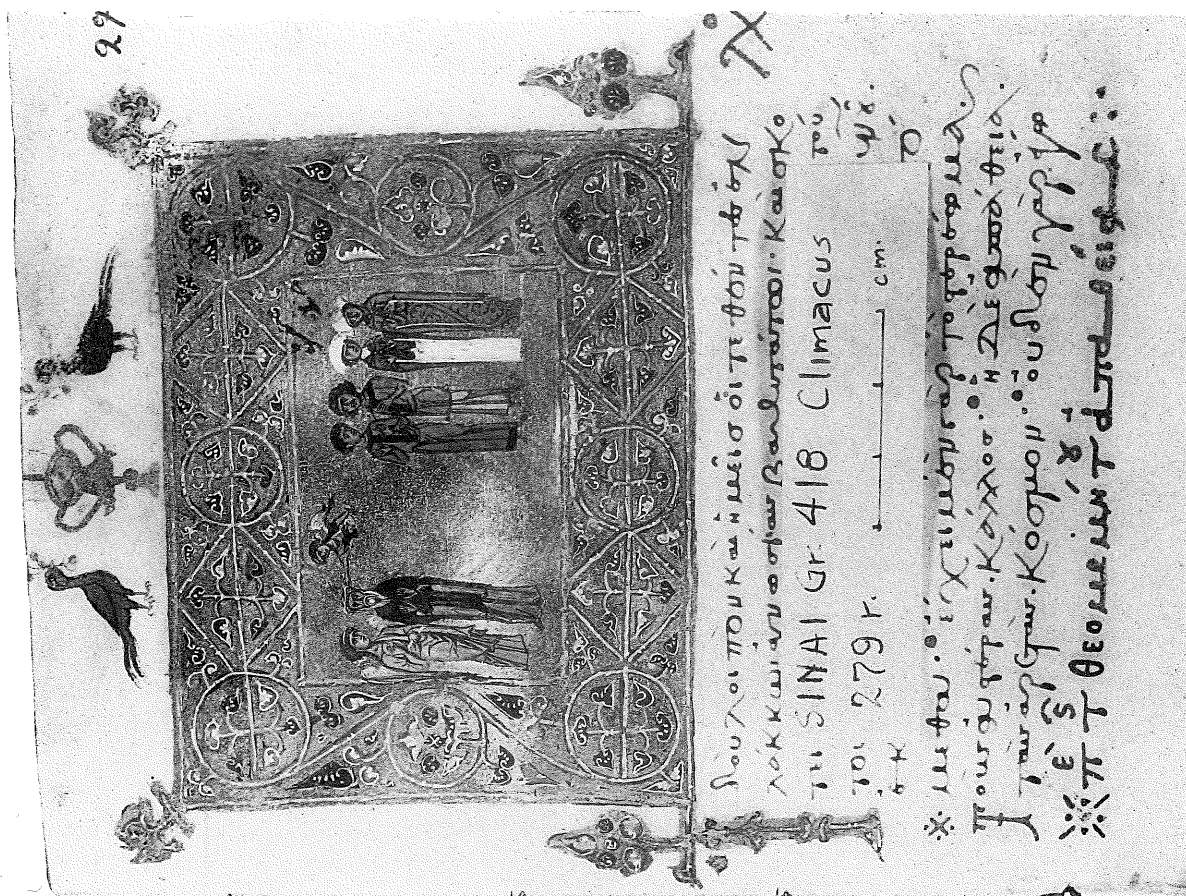
211. Fol. 254<sup>r</sup>: Solitude

211-212. SINAI. Cod. gr. 418

212. Fol. 255<sup>r</sup>: Solitude



213. Fol. 269<sup>r</sup>: Prayer

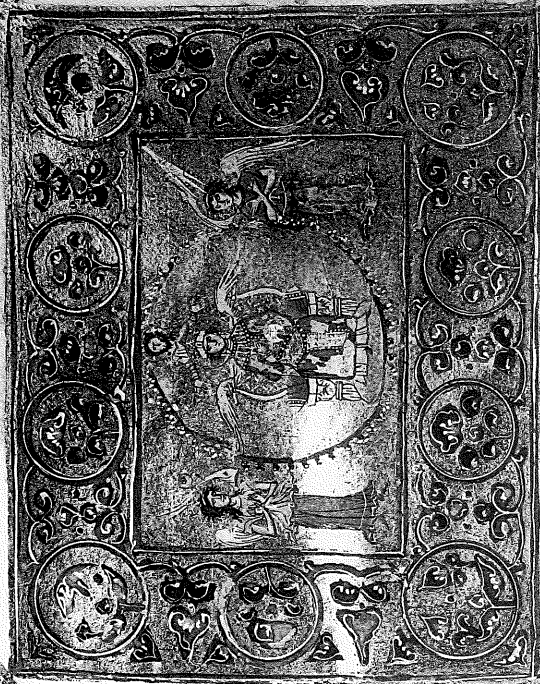


214. Fol. 279<sup>r</sup>: Tranquillity



✠ Π ΣΥΝΔΕΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΑΡΕΤΟΣ

283



ΣΥΝΔΕΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΑΡΕΤΟΣ

SINAL GR. 418 Climacus

283r

cm.

✠ Π ΣΥΝΔΕΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΑΡΕΤΟΣ  
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215. Fol. 283r: Faith, Hope, and Charity

215-216. SINAL. Cod. gr. 418

296



ΣΥΝΔΕΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΑΡΕΤΟΣ

SINAL GR. 418 Climacus

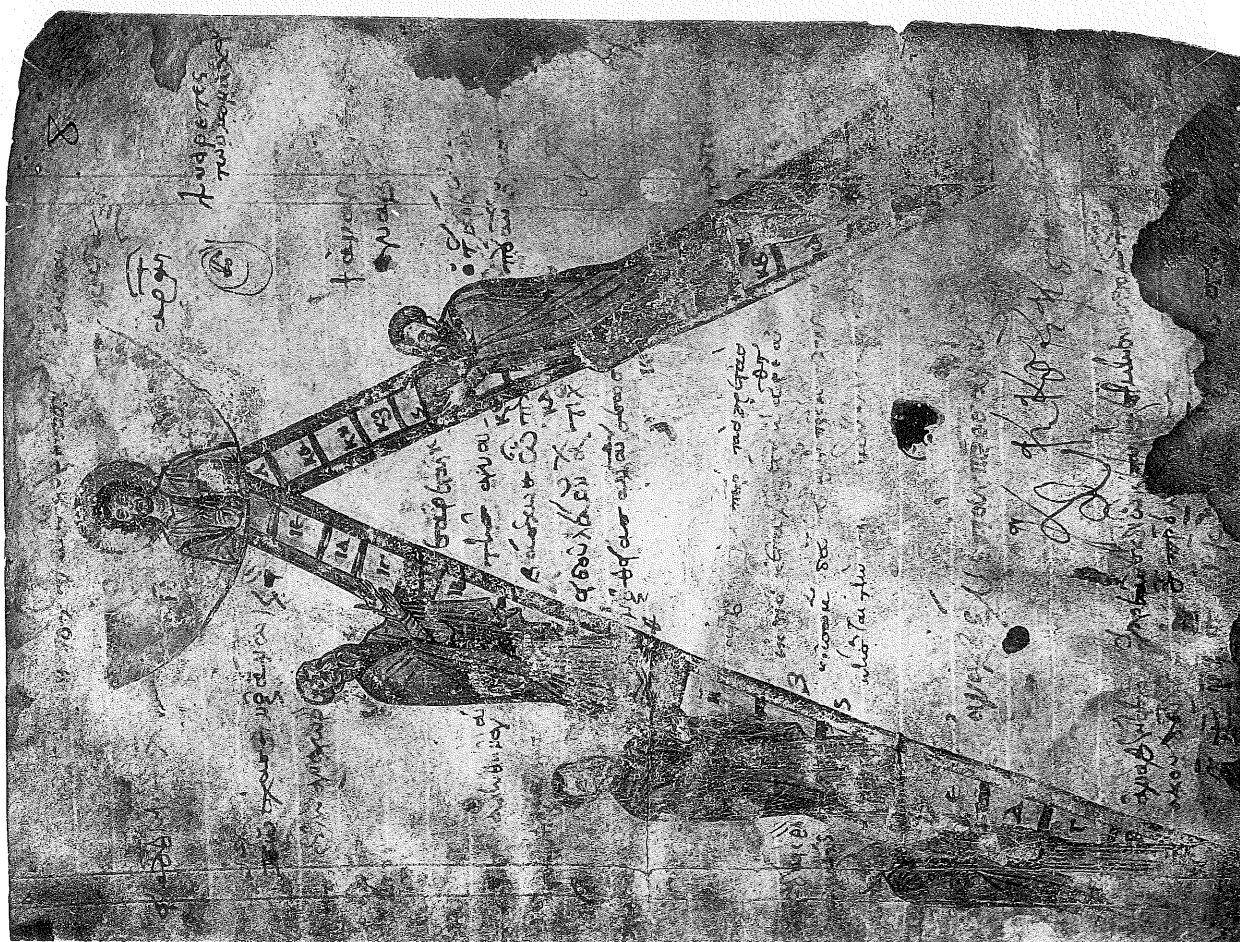
290r

cm.

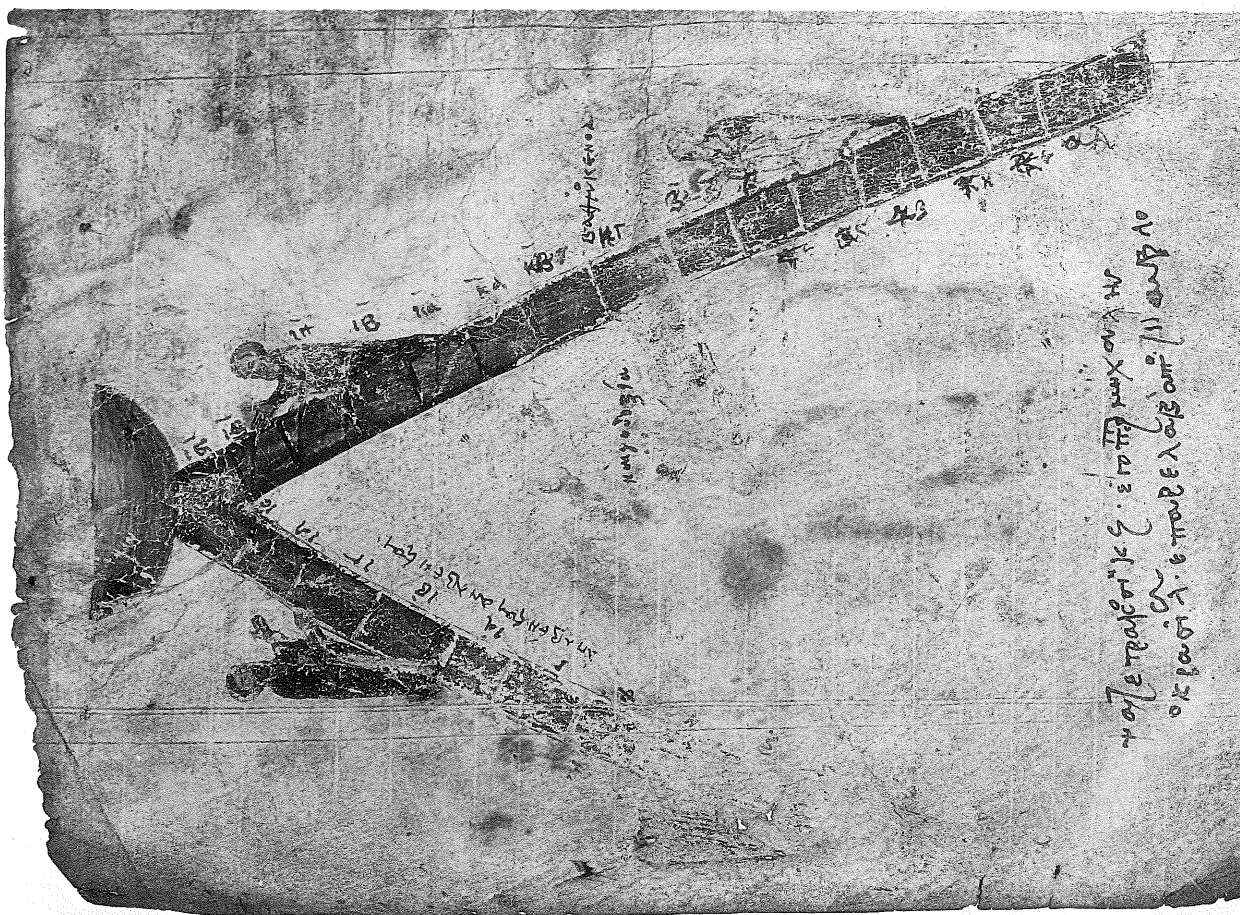
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✠ Π ΣΥΝΔΕΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΑΡΕΤΟΣ

216. Fol. 290r: John Climacus Teaching; the Deesis (Homily to the Pastor)



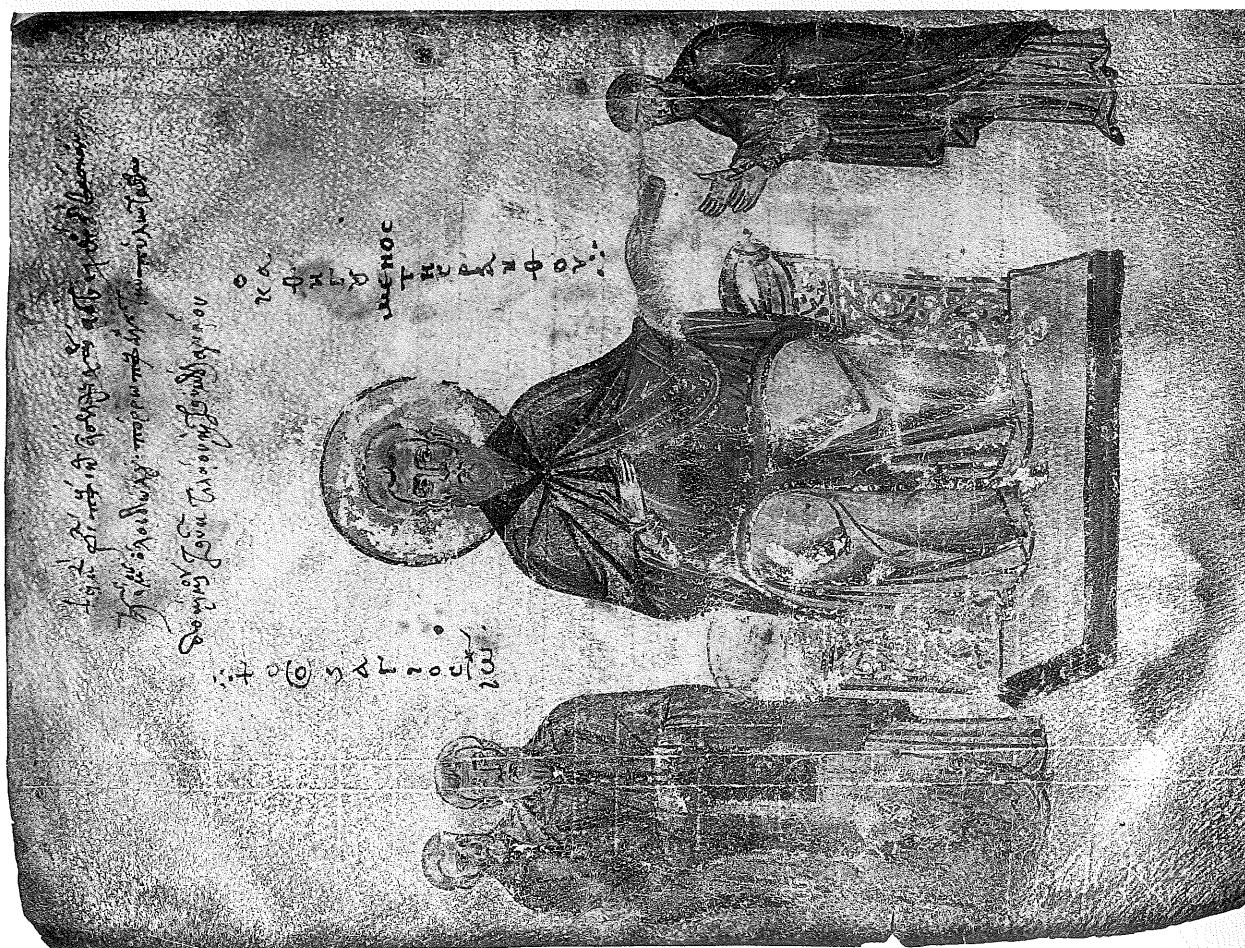


217. Fol. 8r: The Heavenly Ladder

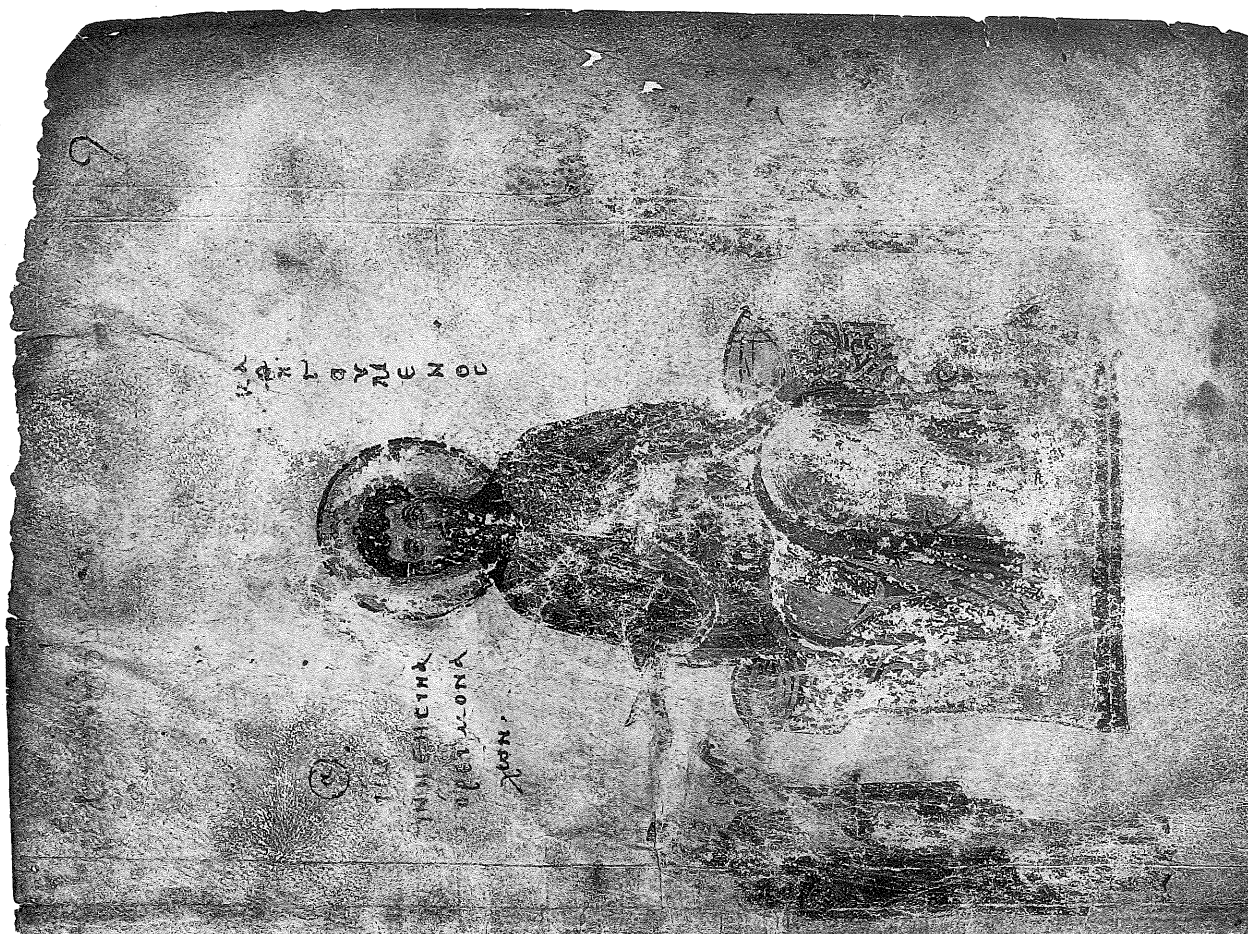


218. Fol. 9v: The Heavenly Ladder



219. Fol. 8<sup>v</sup>: John of Raithu Sending His Letter

219-220. PARIS, BIBL. NAT. Cod. Coislin 263

220. Fol. 9<sup>r</sup>: John Climacus Receiving the Letter





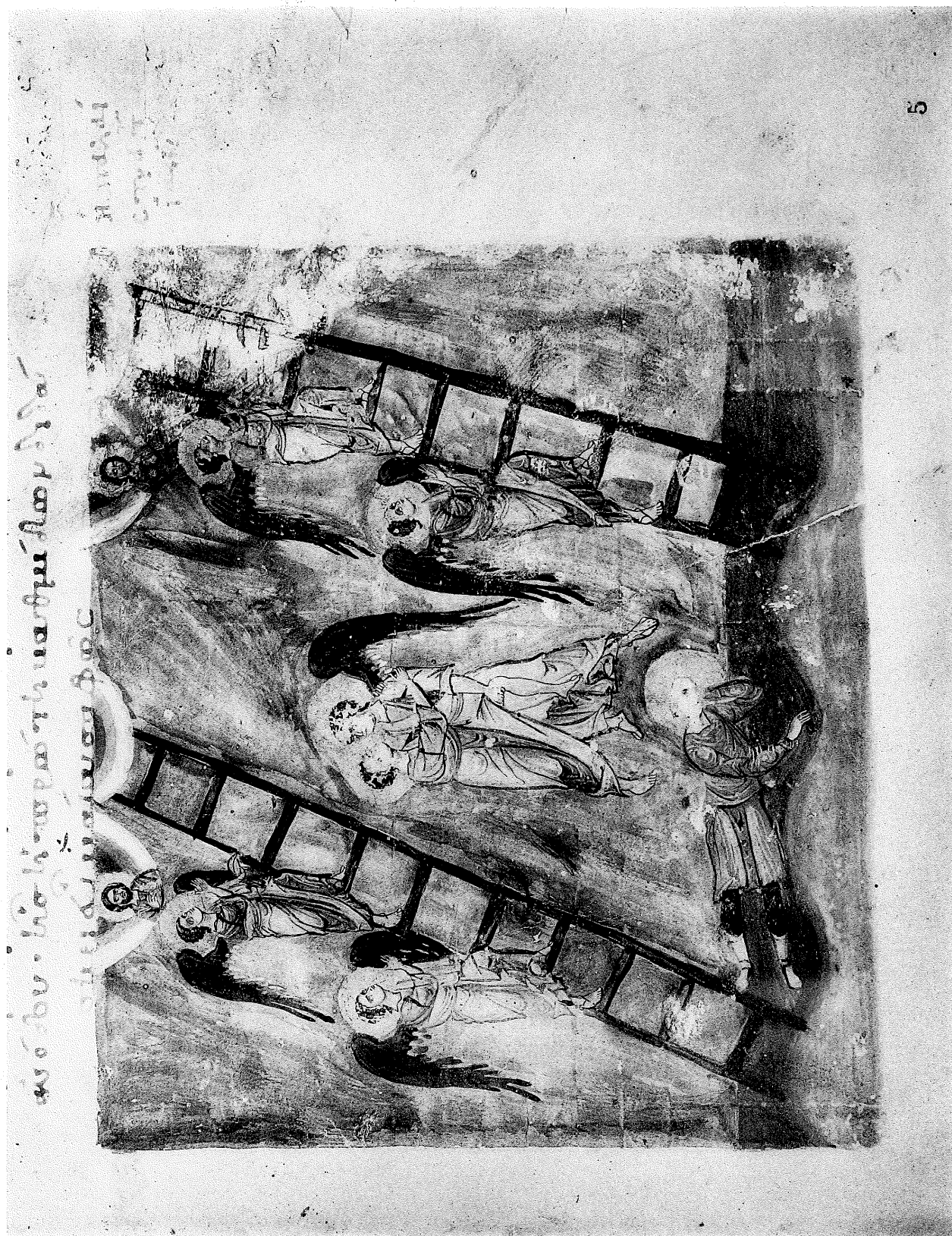




225. Fol. 1<sup>r</sup>: John of Raithu Giving His Letter to John Climacus



226. Fol. 2<sup>v</sup>: John Climacus Writing His Reply



227. VATICAN. Cod. Ross. 251. Fol. 5<sup>r</sup>: Jacob's Vision  
and His Struggle with the Angel





228. Fol. 5<sup>v</sup>: The First Table of Contents



229. Fol. 6<sup>r</sup>: The First Table of Contents



230. Fol. 7<sup>r</sup>: John Climacus



231. Fol. 12<sup>v</sup>: The Spiritual Tablets

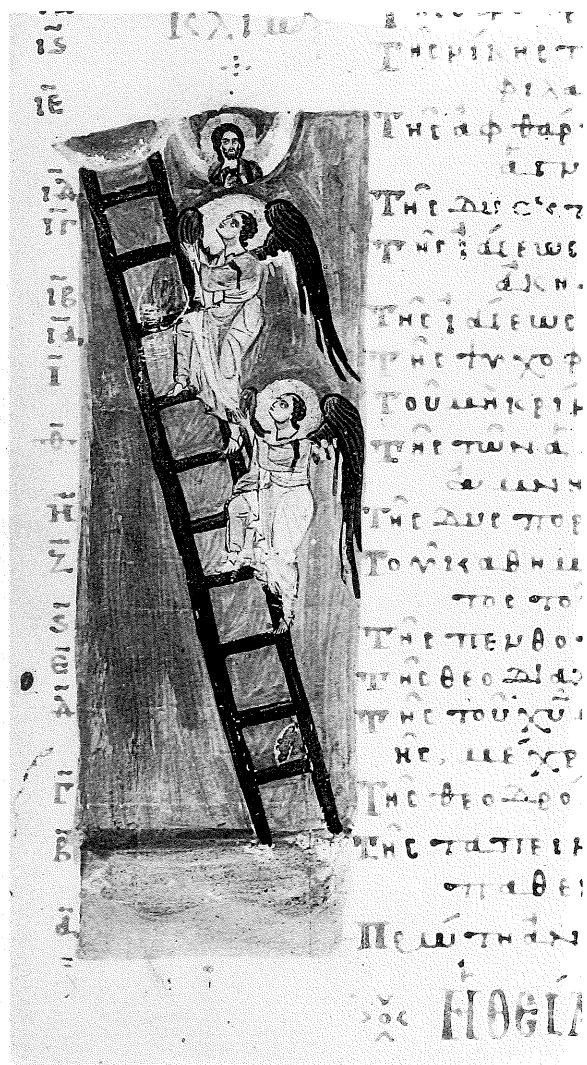


232. Fol. 13<sup>r</sup>: John Climacus Teaching (Chapter 1)





233. Fol. 256<sup>v</sup>: The Second Table of Contents



234. Fol. 257<sup>r</sup>: The Second Table of Contents

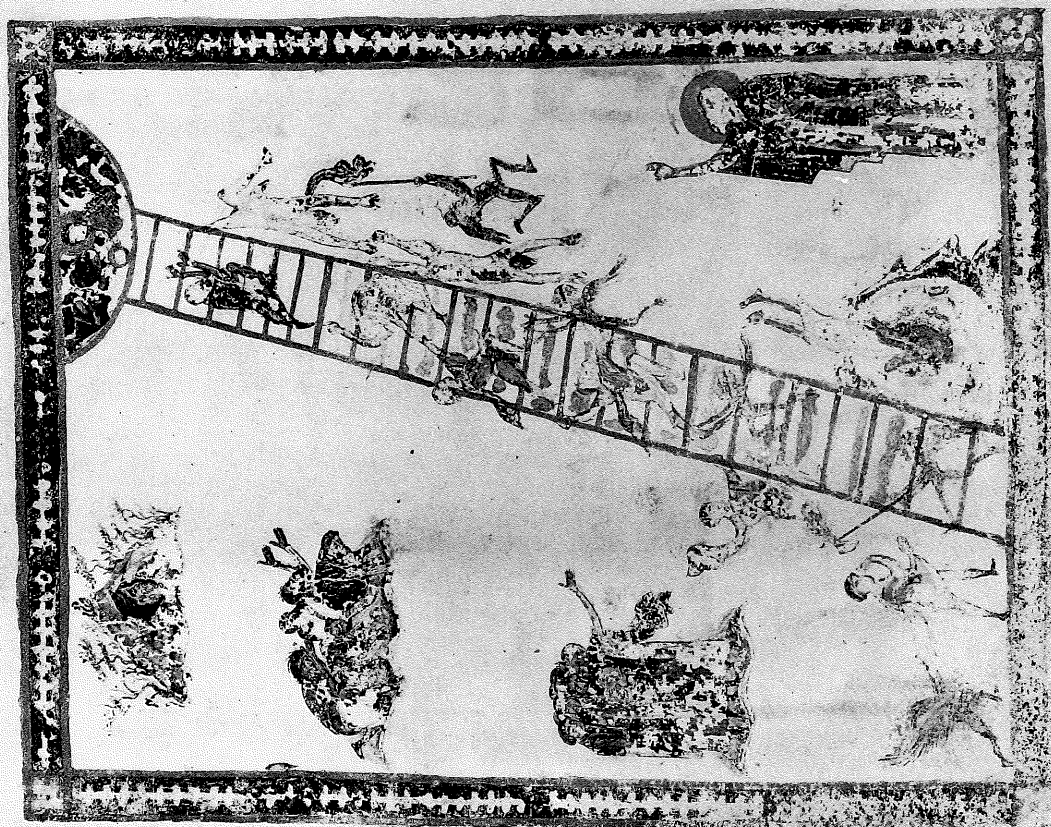


235. Fol. 258<sup>r</sup>: John of Raithu Teaching  
(Homily to the Pastor)



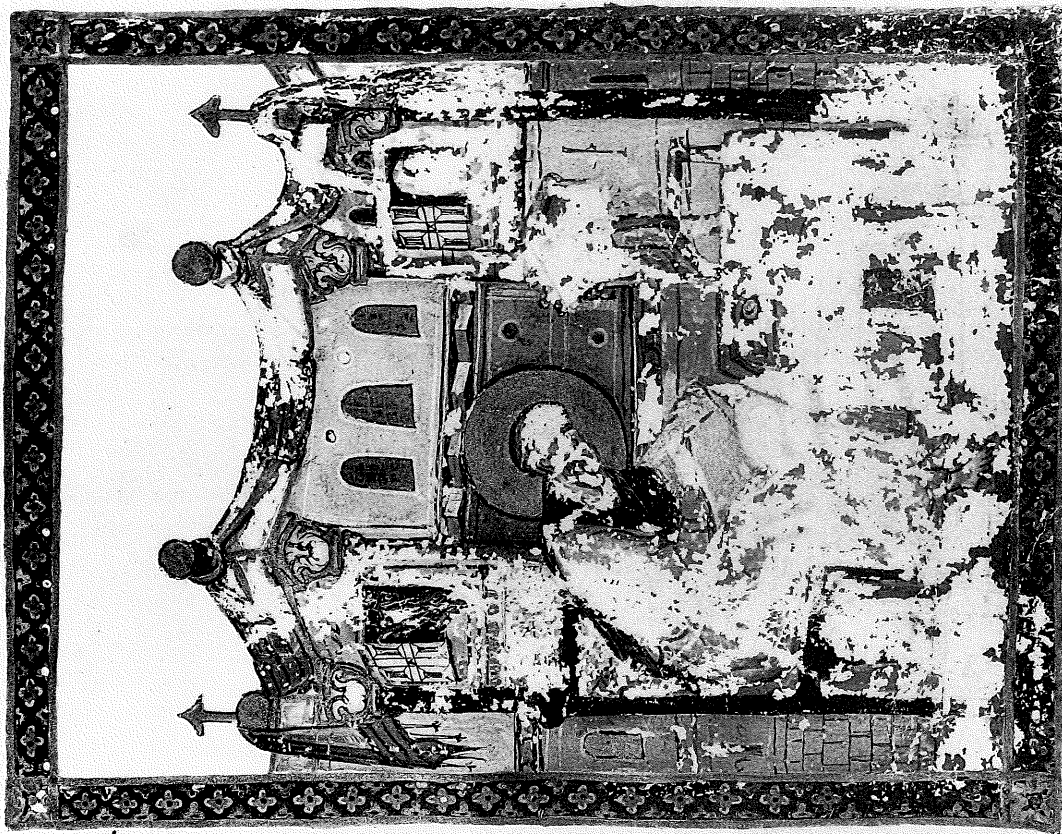






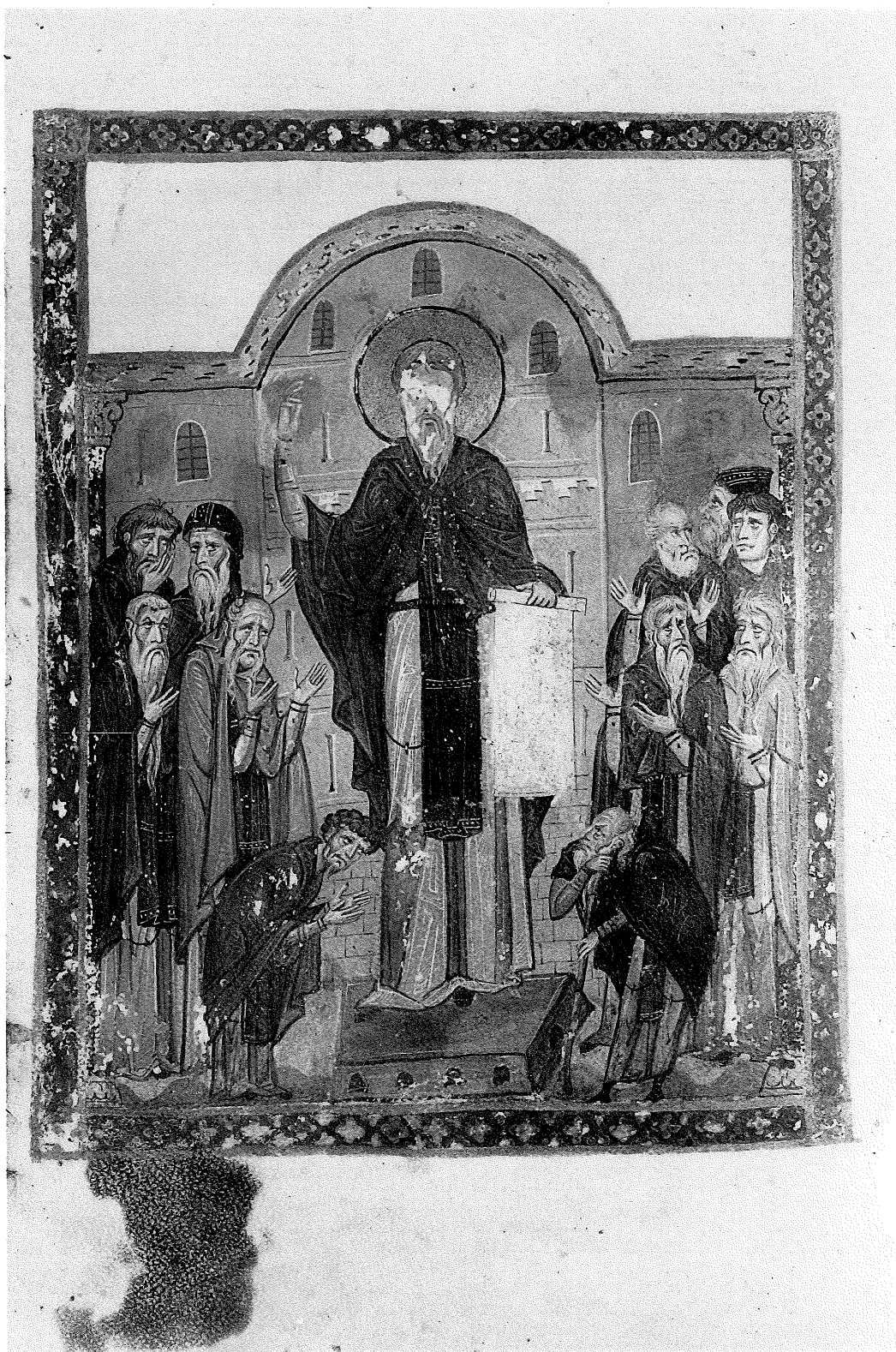
238. Fol. 2<sup>r</sup>: The Heavenly Ladder

238-239. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1754



239. Fol. 2<sup>v</sup>: The Author Portrait





240. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1754. Fol. 3<sup>r</sup>: John Climacus



241. Fol. 20<sup>r</sup>: John of Raithu's Letter



242. Fol. 23<sup>r</sup>: Renunciation of Life



244. Fol. 29<sup>r</sup>: Dispassionateness

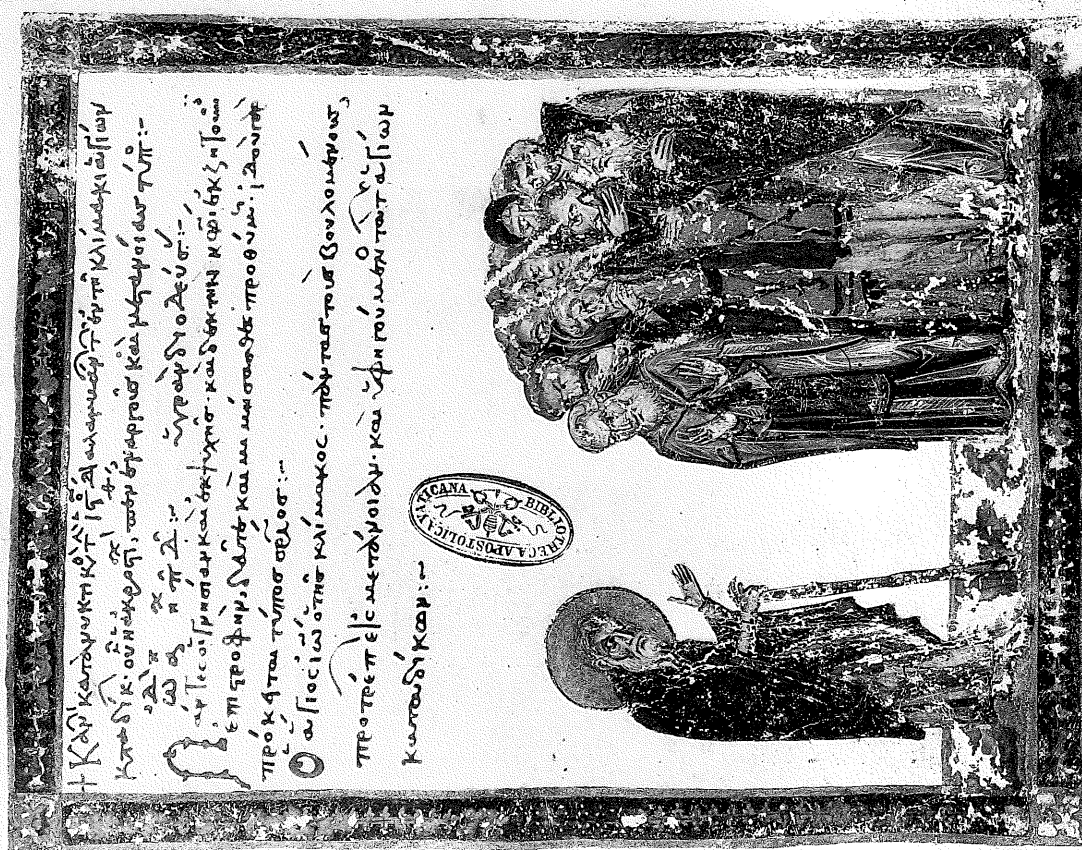


243. Fol. 23<sup>r</sup>: Renunciation of Life



245. Fol. 71<sup>v</sup>: Sorrow



246. Fol. 3<sup>v</sup>: Ode 1, 1

246-247. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1754. The Penitential Canon

247. Fol. 4<sup>r</sup>: Ode 1, 2





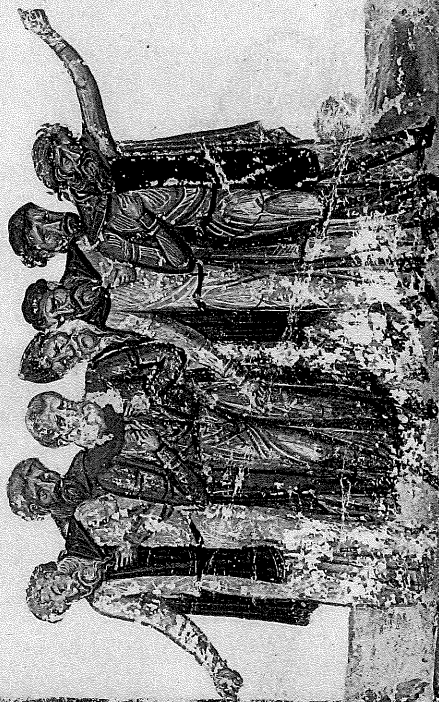
Ω Γ'· ὁ ὡς ἀπὸ δ'·  
 Οἱ ἄλλοι ἀφ' ὧν σπασ· καὶ φασ· πεινῶν ἄνθρωποι·  
 ἄνθρωποι· φασ· οἱ οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς· ὁ δὲ  
 δ' ὁ δ' καὶ σπασ· ἑαυτοὶ οἱ πτωχοὶ· ὁ δὲ  
 Οὐ τοι ἐπὶ δ' ὡς· σπασ· καὶ φασ· πεινῶν ἄνθρωποι·  
 τας· καὶ φασ· πεινῶν ἄνθρωποι· καὶ φασ· πεινῶν ἄνθρωποι·



250. Fol. 5V: Ode III, I

ὁ δὲ πρὸς ἐπὶ ῥ'· ὁ δὲ πρὸς ἐπὶ ῥ'·  
 ὁ δὲ πρὸς ἐπὶ ῥ'· ὁ δὲ πρὸς ἐπὶ ῥ'·  
 ὁ δὲ πρὸς ἐπὶ ῥ'· ὁ δὲ πρὸς ἐπὶ ῥ'·  
 ὁ δὲ πρὸς ἐπὶ ῥ'· ὁ δὲ πρὸς ἐπὶ ῥ'·

Οὐ τοι ἐπὶ ῥ'· ὁ δὲ πρὸς ἐπὶ ῥ'·  
 ὁ δὲ πρὸς ἐπὶ ῥ'· ὁ δὲ πρὸς ἐπὶ ῥ'·



251. Fol. 12V: Ode III, 2



Ὁ ἰσχυρὸς τὸς ἀλότοις καὶ ἡνιοχοῖς πάλαι· τὴν δὲ θῆ-  
σαν θάλαμ' ἐκὼς κατεργασάμεν, διότι βυθισσάμε-  
ν· εἰ ποτε ἐκπλῆναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· τὸν ἀποπνεύσαντα ἀνέ-  
λυσ' ἰσχυρὰς ἡμῶν:-

Ὁ τοι πότε δαψάσῃ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δάκρυσι νεύοντες ἡ-  
μῶν ἀκαχοῖσι μεθυσσῇ:-

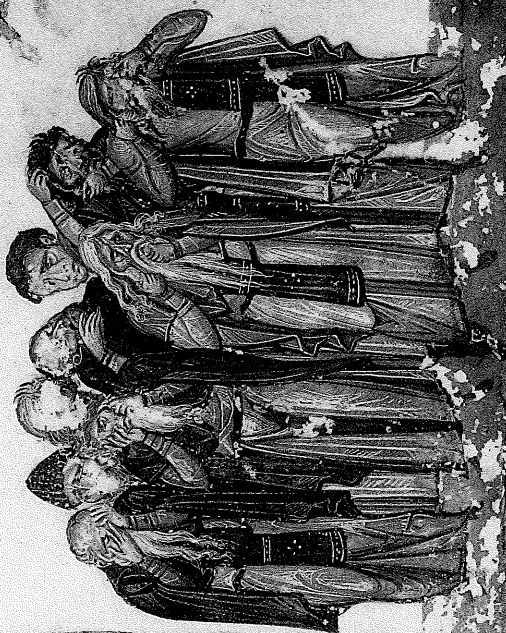
252. Fol. 12<sup>v</sup>: Ode III, 3

252-253. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1754. The Penitential Canon

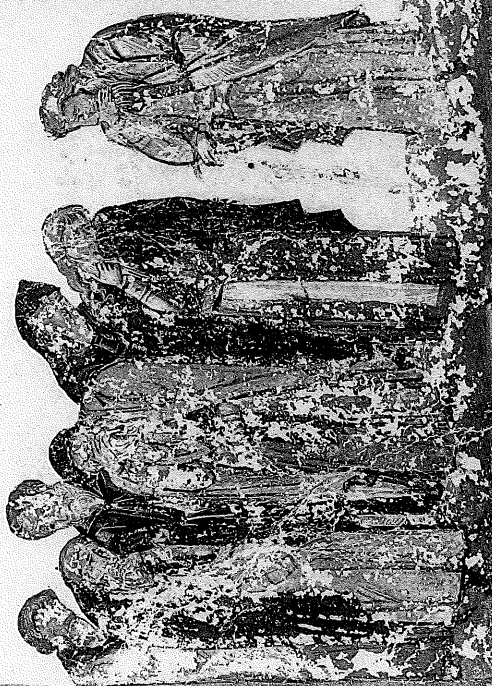
Ὁ τοι ποτε τὸν πλάγιον· τὸν δὲ θοῖον ἡνιοχόν· ἀπὸ  
πρῶτον θεῖον ὡς ἀφ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡνιοχῶν·  
φαῖτον καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὡς δὲ θοῖον τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἡνιοχῶν  
ἡνιοχόν· ἀπὸ τῶν ἡνιοχῶν:-

Ὁ τοι ποτε δαψάσῃ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δάκρυσι νεύοντες ἡ-  
μῶν ἀκαχοῖσι μεθυσσῇ:-

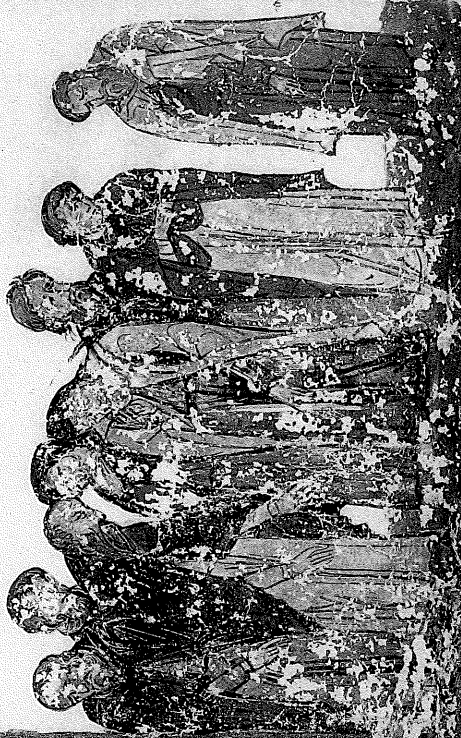
λεχθῶν

253. Fol. 6<sup>r</sup>: Ode III, 4

ὦ, ἦ εἰσακήκοα κέ :-  
 ἤ κερασθήντες τοῖς παθεσιν· κἀγὼ εἰς αἰῶνα ψυχὰς  
 ἤ πολεσάμενος. Ἀλλ' ἐταππασέ κ' ἐν τῇ σωμῇ· κο  
 πῆταις καὶ θρήνοις προσμύχρηται :-  
 ὦ ποιταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχὰς ὥσθ' οἱ μεκρὸν προτιθῇ :-  
 ὁλοκλύουσι καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν σὺν ἡμῶν τῶν ἐσπερῶν  
 καρδίας ἀνέφερονται :-

254. Fol. 6<sup>v</sup>: Ode IV, 1

Ἀπὸ φράσεων μὲν ὡς ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς  
 τῇ καρδίᾳ ὡς ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς  
 ὅσοι τῶν ἐσπερῶν τὸν ὄντορ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς  
 ὡς ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς  
 αἱ φησὶν ὡς ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς :-

255. Fol. 7<sup>r</sup>: Ode IV, 2

254-255. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1754. The Penitential Canon















Ἄνθρωποι ἡμετέροι· ἰλασθέντες μοι σὺν· πονηαὶ γὰρ  
 ἐσμὲν· πρὸς τὸν κυριότατον· διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν  
 ἡμᾶς, τὸ πονηρὸν δὲ· κερὰ κερὰ δὲ λαοὶ καὶ σὺν  
 αὐτοῖς πονήσαντες· μὴ σιγῆμεθα·

Οὐτοὶ ἀνδράνες· ἀφ' ἡμετέρων ἐβίοντο· τὸ δὲ πόνον  
 τὸς κληθεὶς κερὰσι καὶ δάκρυσι·



262. Fol. 10<sup>v</sup>: Ode VI, 1

ἡ σὰν ἡ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις· ὡς ὁ σὺν ἡμῶν· καὶ τὰ ὄρα τῆ  
 σαρκί· εἰς τέλος κεκολληται· ἀπὸ τοῦ νεφελῶν καὶ ἡμέρας  
 φῶς ἐγένετο· καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις·

Οὐτοὶ κεκολλημένοι· ἀφ' ἡμετέρων ἐβίοντο· τὸ ὄρα τῆ σαρκί· καὶ αἰσῶσι· χόρτο  
 ἐξημερώθη· ἐπὶ σὺν μοῖαι· ὡς τὰ ἀδελφὰ· ἐπὶ τῇ  
 ἐξ αὐτῶν·



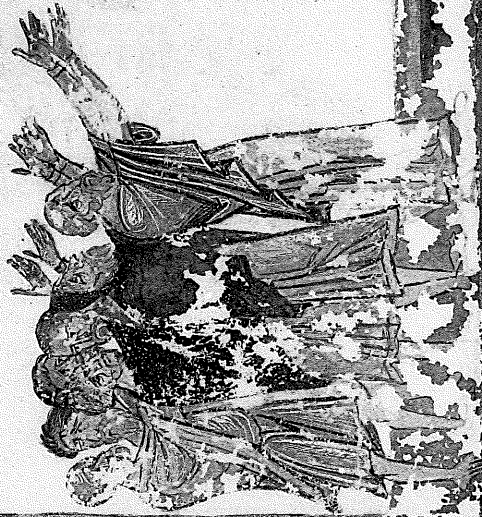
263. Fol. 11<sup>r</sup>: Ode VI, 2

[illegible][illegible]

264. Fol. 11<sup>v</sup>: Ode vi, 3

[illegible]

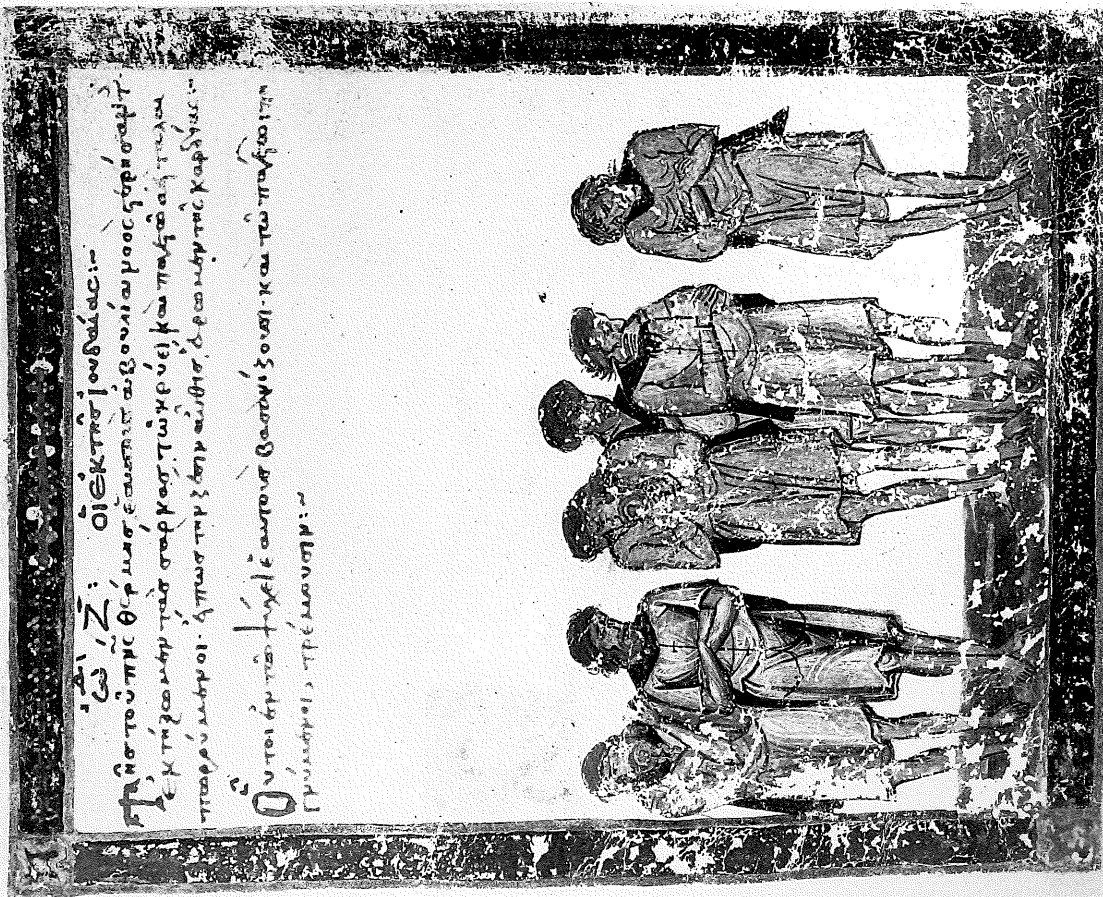
1. The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the smell of the sea. It was a salty, fresh scent that I had never experienced before. The sun was shining brightly, and the waves were crashing against the shore. I felt a sense of freedom and adventure.



265. Fol. 13<sup>r</sup>: Ode vi, 4

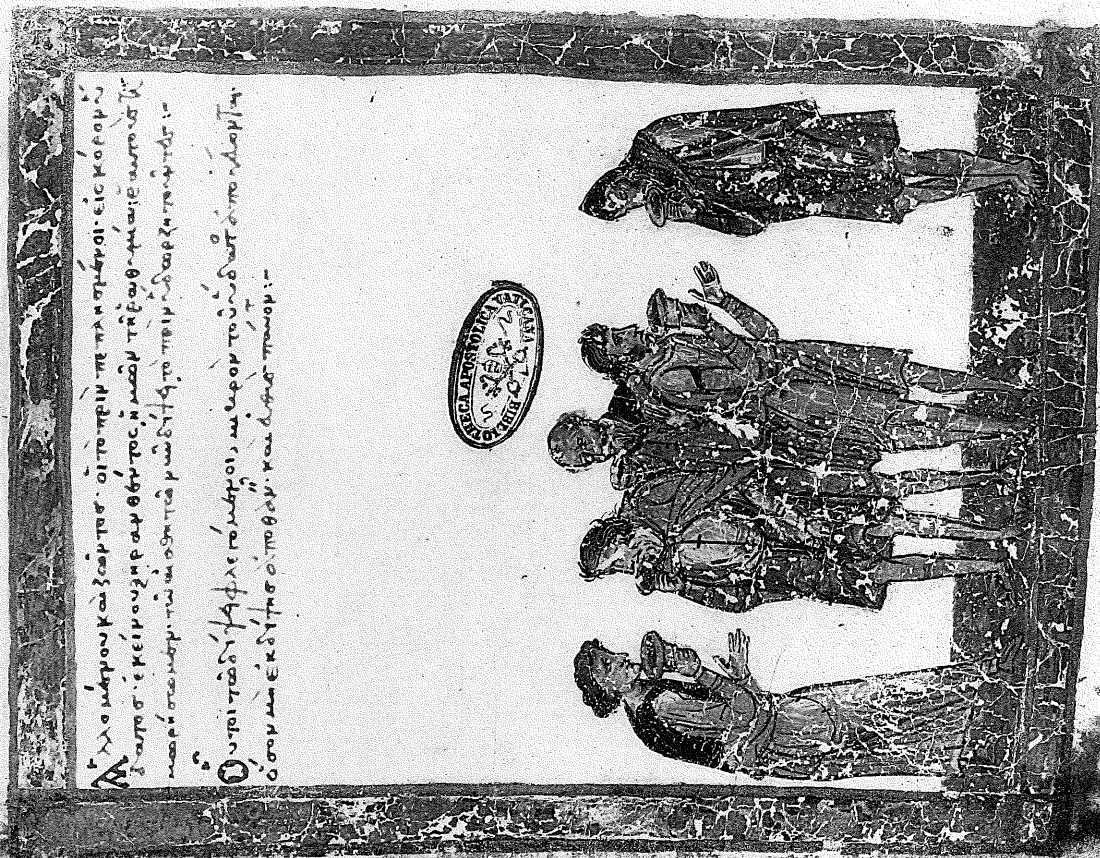
264-265. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1754. The Penitential Canon





266. Fol. 13<sup>v</sup>: Ode vii, 1

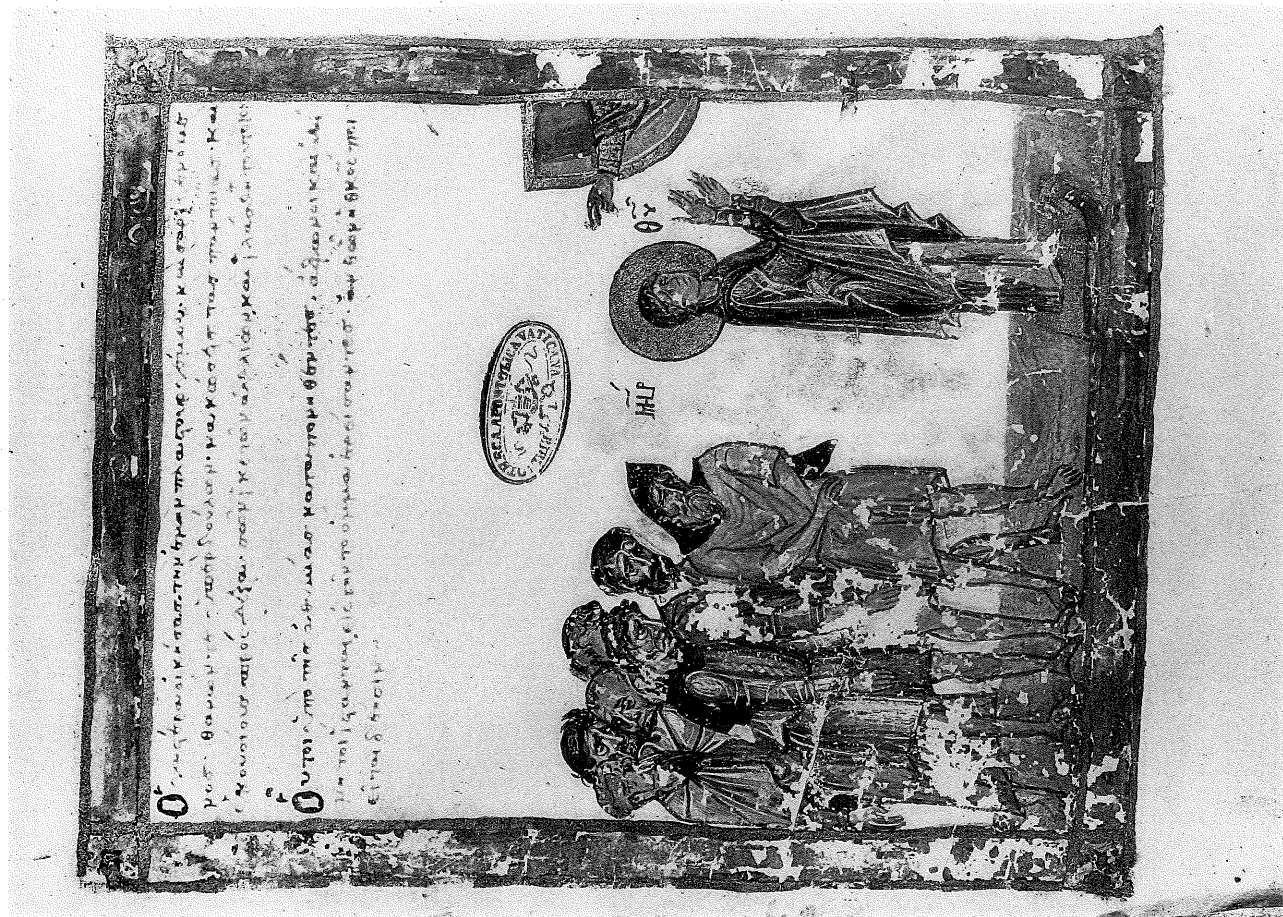
266-267. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1754. The Penitential Canon



267. Fol. 14<sup>r</sup>: Ode vii, 2

268. Fol. 14<sup>v</sup>: Ode vii, 3

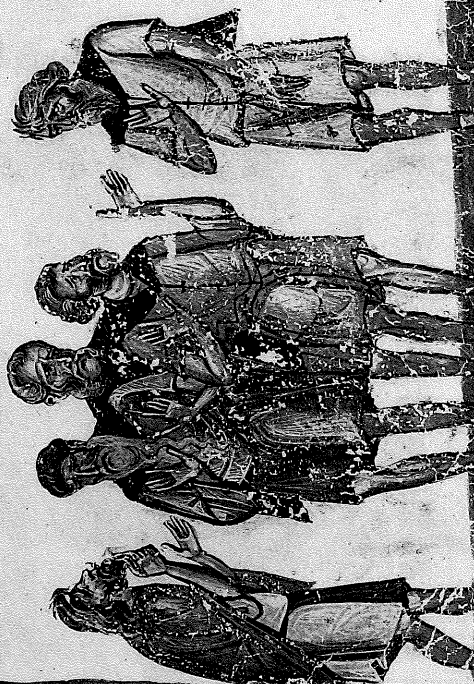
268-269. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1754. The Penitential Canon.

269. Fol. 15<sup>r</sup>: Ode vii, 4



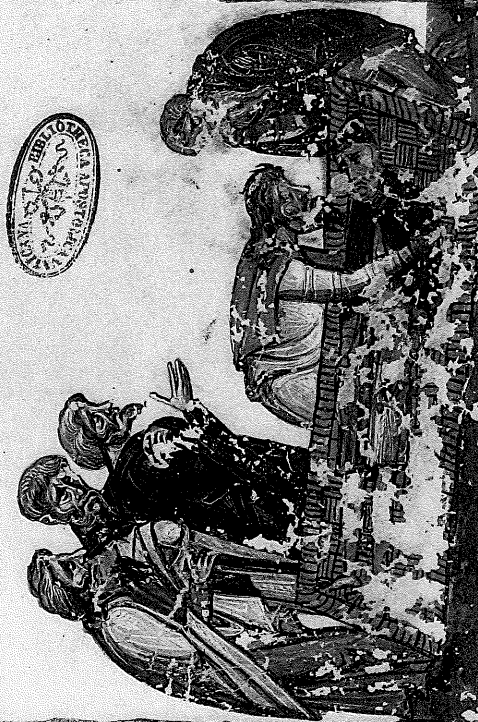
Ἰσχυρὸν ἐφάρθης· σὺ ἡμῶν πύτορ κῆ· εἰς θά καὶ τὸ ἄν  
 ἡμῶν ἐνέρι σάφει· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκ μαι τῶν καὶ βάρ  
 τῶν αὐξέσῃ· ἡμῶν τοῖς χρεώταις ἀφ' ἡμῶν παύσῃ· ἡ πάλιν  
 ἀνταρὰ φῶν τῶν ἡμῶν ἰσχυρὸν· καὶ θῆται ἡμῶν· καὶ  
 ἡ πάλιν εἰς πόλος·

Οὗτοι πρὸ ἀλλήλων διαπορεύονται καὶ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πρῶτον  
ἐπρεσβύται·

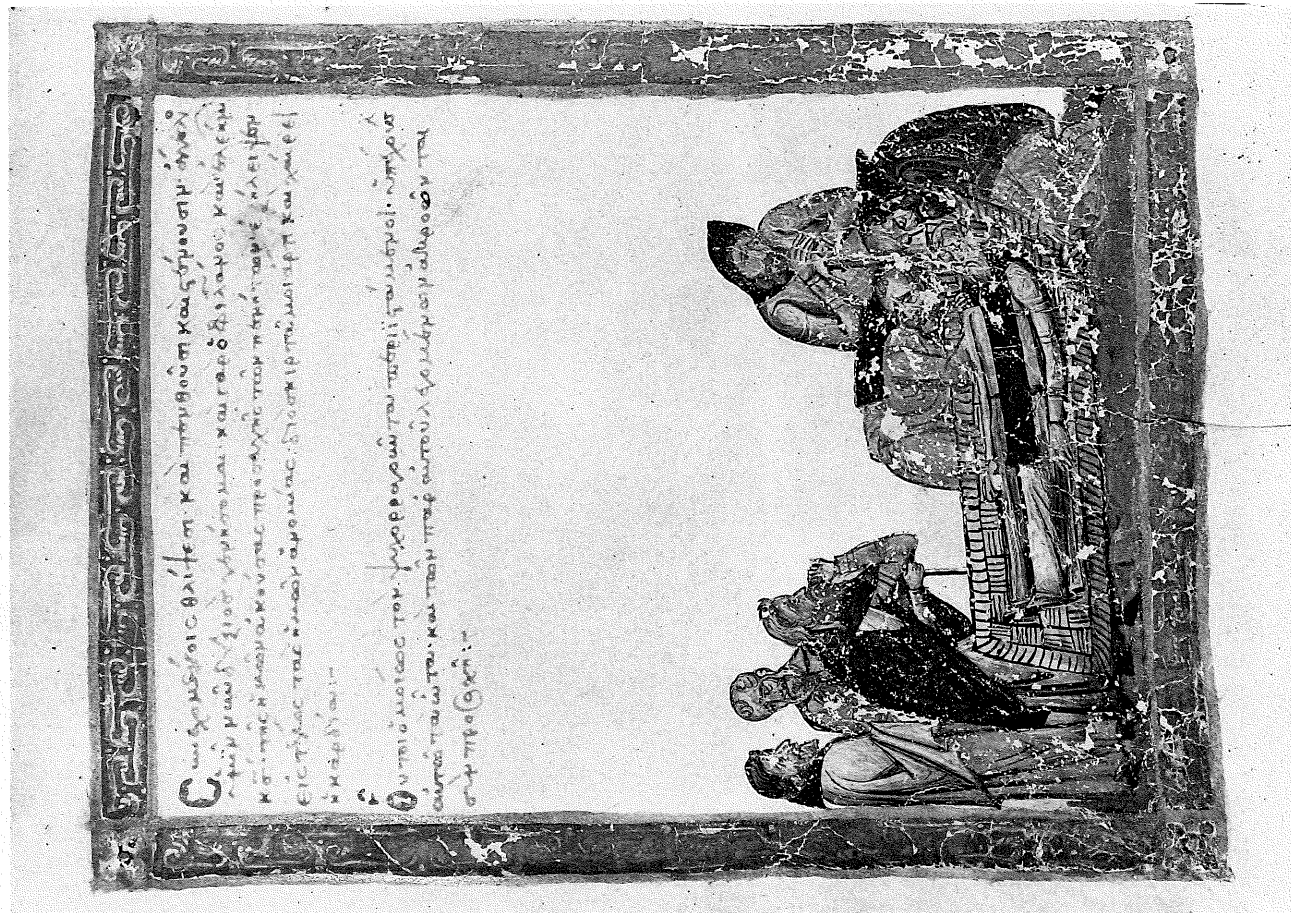


**Α** ραι πας ὁν ὁμοῖοισιν ἴσται καὶ ἰσχύεται ἀναφέρει μαρτυρίαν καὶ συμπεραίνει σκιρτάτα καὶ ἀνέκδοτα καὶ ἀποκαλύπτει τὰς αἰτιολογίας τῶν παρατηρηθέντων καὶ ἰσχυρίζεται ἐν αὐτῇ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀποστολῇ τῶν ἀμαρτανιωτῶν·

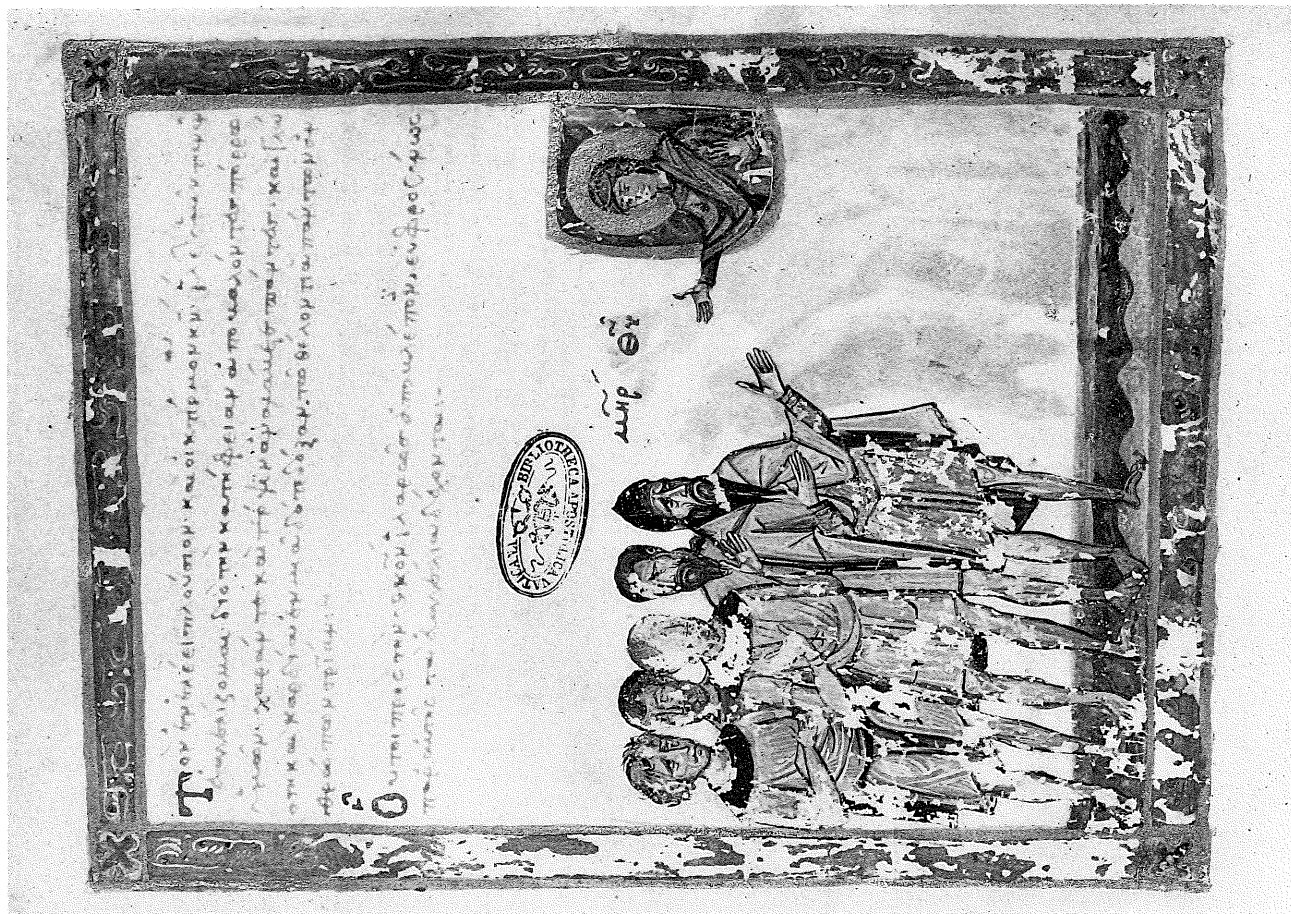
Οὐτοι φερόμενοι τινὰς εἶναι τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκείνων· ἵνα ἀφ' οὗ  
 ἡμῶν καὶ μετρίῃ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ οὐκ ἵπταται τὸ πᾶν  
 τῶν καὶ ἐκείνων







272. Fol. 16<sup>v</sup>: Ode viii, 3



273. Fol. 17<sup>r</sup>: Ode viii, 4

272-273. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1754. The Penitential Canon



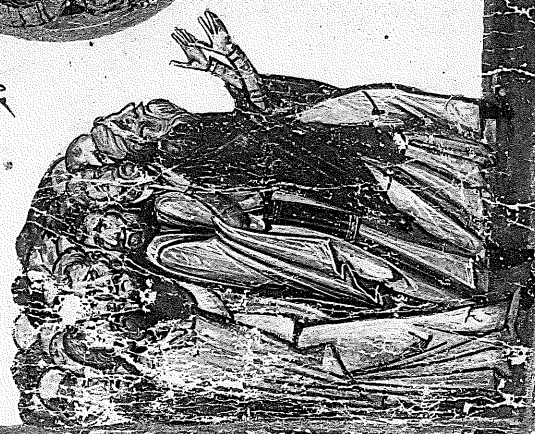
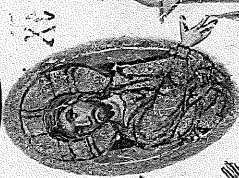
Εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄνωγε·

*[Faint handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side.]*

[illegible]

1. The first of these is the fact that the  
 2. of the system is not a simple one.  
 3. of the system is not a simple one.  
 4. of the system is not a simple one.  
 5. of the system is not a simple one.  
 6. of the system is not a simple one.  
 7. of the system is not a simple one.  
 8. of the system is not a simple one.  
 9. of the system is not a simple one.  
 10. of the system is not a simple one.

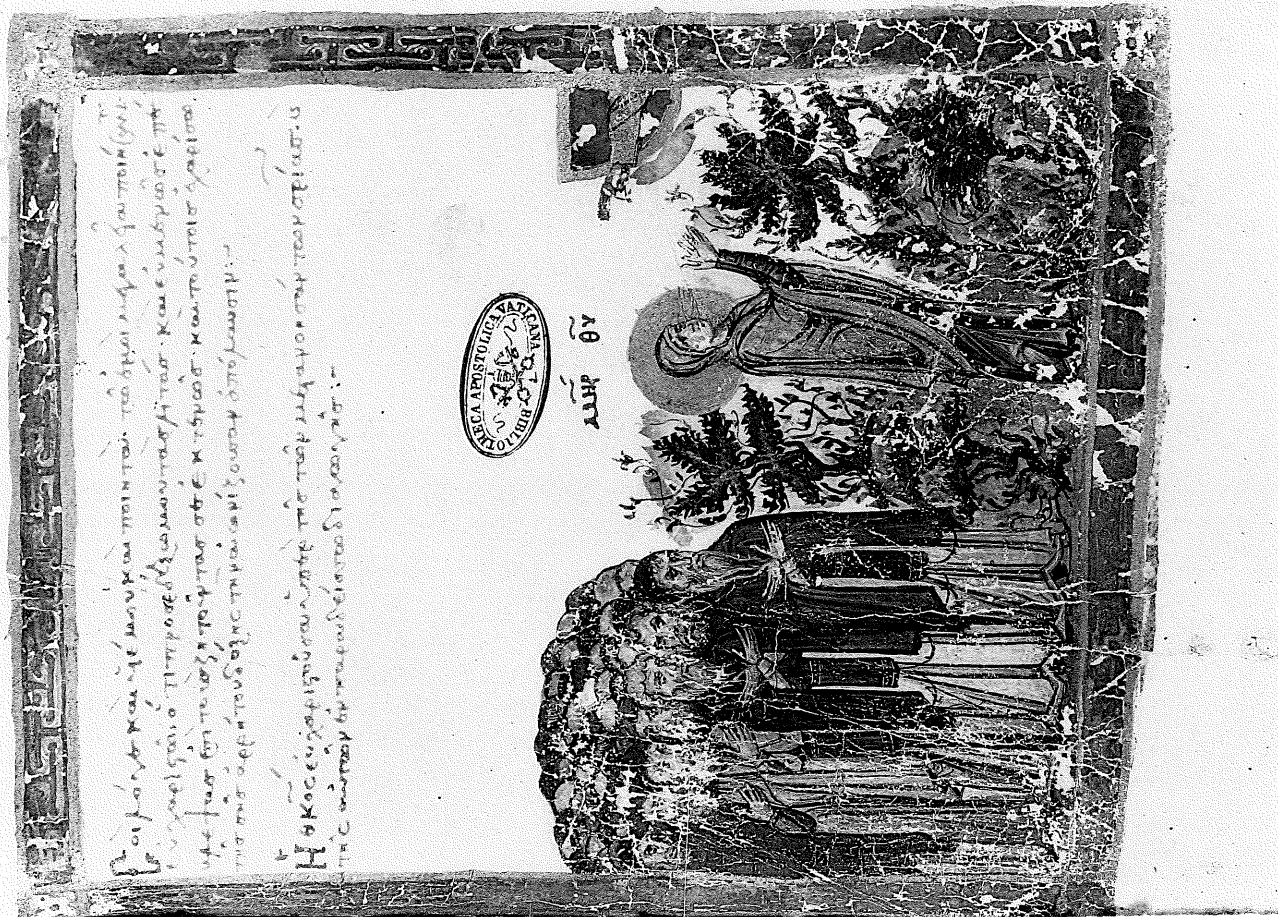
1. οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ἀκακίον κατὰ ἑκόν. ἡ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 2. πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πρὸς καὶ τὰς οὐκ ἰσὺς καὶ τὰς  
 3. οὐκ.







276. Fol. 18<sup>v</sup>: Ode IX, 3



277. Fol. 19<sup>r</sup>: Ode IX, 4







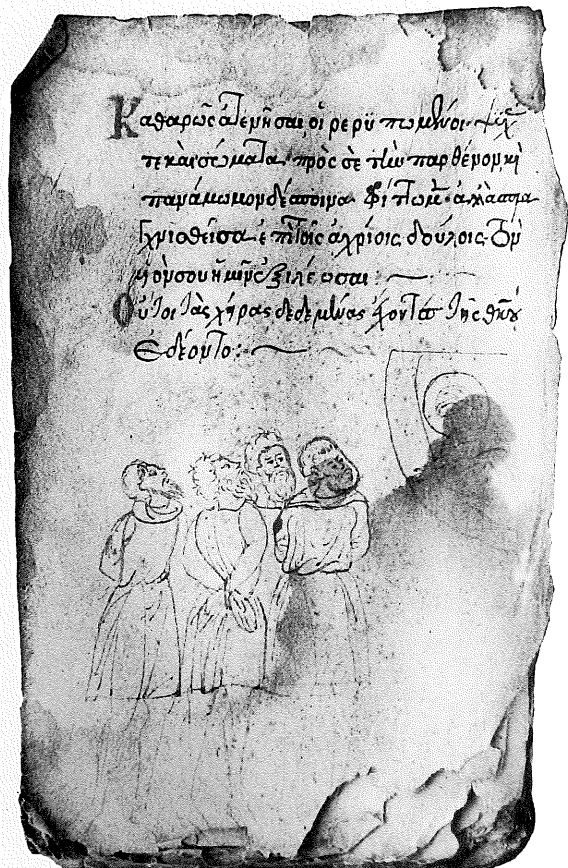
282. ATHENS, NAT. LIB. Cod. 1395.  
Fol. 8<sup>v</sup>: Penitential Canon, Ode v, 4



283. ATHENS, NAT. LIB. Cod. 1395.  
Fol. 12<sup>r</sup>: Penitential Canon, Ode vii, 3



284. ATHENS, NAT. LIB. Cod. 742.  
Fol. 62<sup>v</sup>: Penitential Canon, Ode i, 2



285. ATHENS, NAT. LIB. Cod. 742.  
Fol. 66<sup>v</sup>: Penitential Canon, Ode v, 4

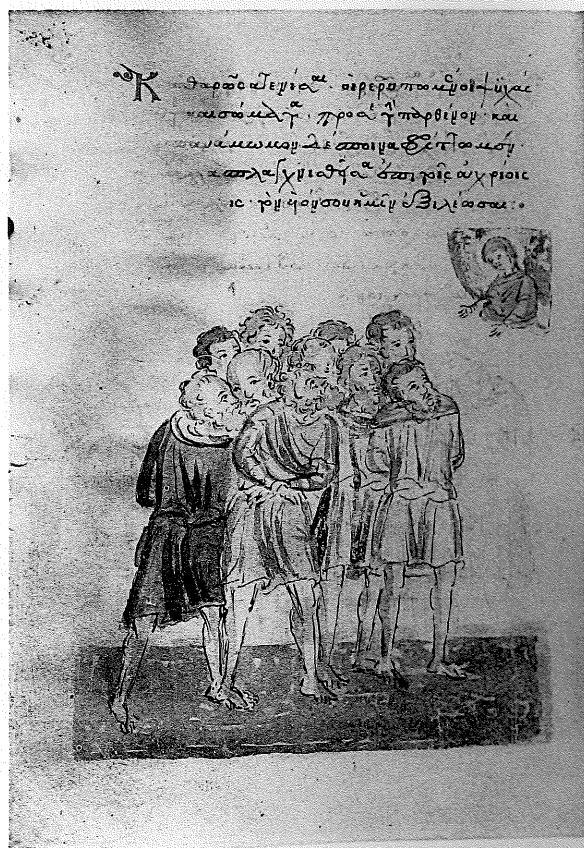




286. ATHENS, NAT. LIB. Cod. 742.  
Fol. 70<sup>r</sup>: Penitential Canon, Ode VII, 3



287. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. II  
44. Fol. 180<sup>v</sup>: Penitential Canon,  
Ode I, 2



288. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. II  
44. Fol. 187<sup>v</sup>: Penitential Canon,  
Ode V, 4



289. VENICE, MARCIANA. Cod. gr. II  
44. Fol. 191<sup>r</sup>: Penitential Canon,  
Ode VII, 3



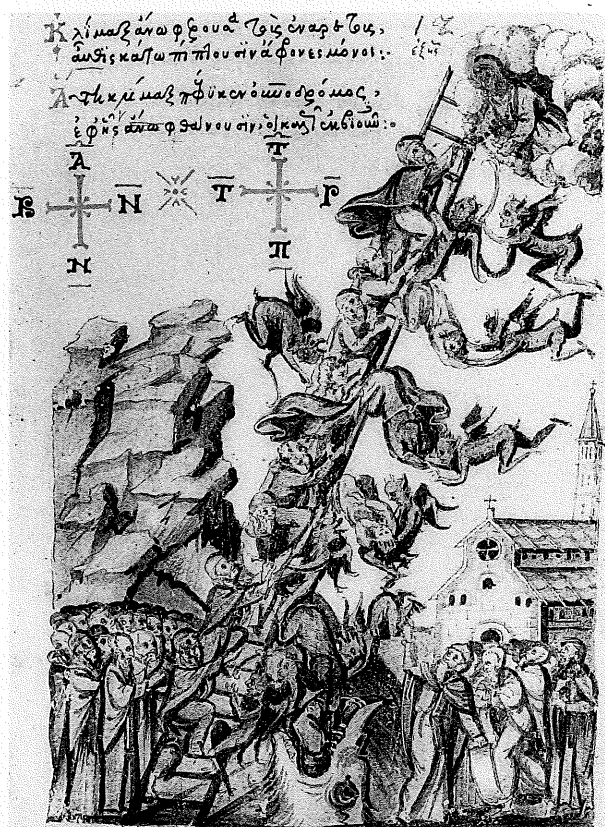
290. Fol. 1<sup>v</sup>: Penitential Canon,  
Ode I, 2



291. Fol. 8<sup>v</sup>: Penitential Canon,  
Ode V, 4



292. Fol. 12<sup>r</sup>: Penitential Canon,  
Ode VII, 3

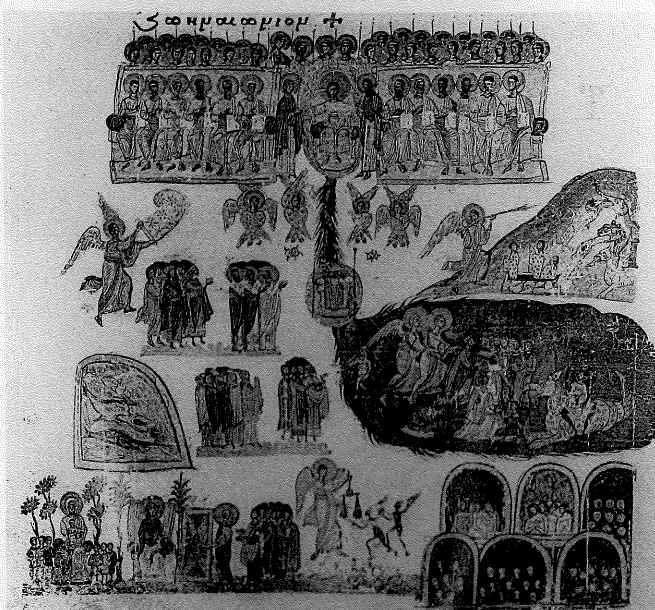


293. Fol. 17<sup>r</sup>: The Heavenly Ladder

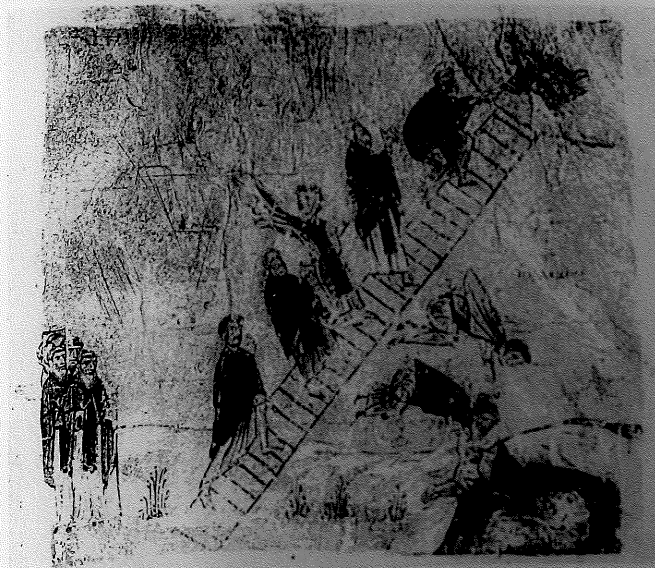




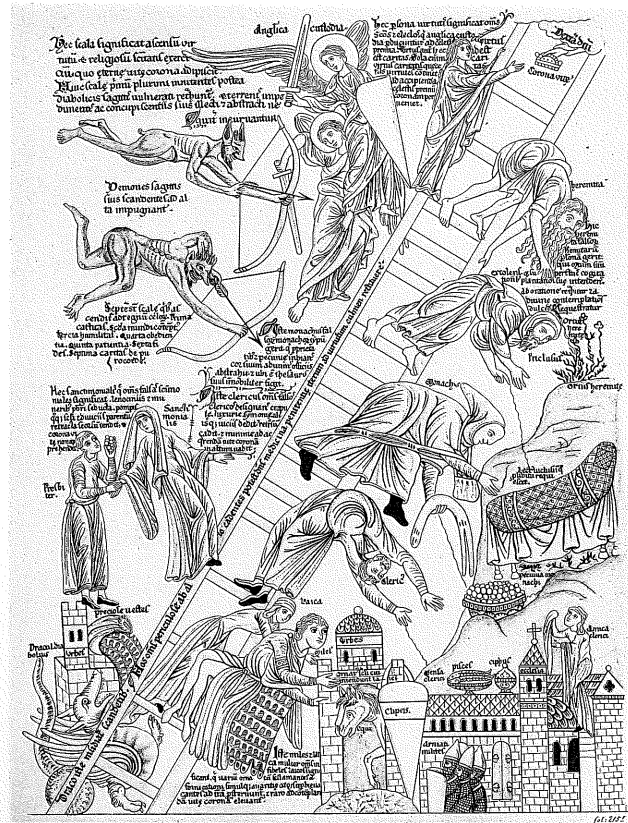
294. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 747. Fol. 50<sup>r</sup>:  
Jacob's Vision



295. PARIS, BIBL. NAT. Cod. gr. 74. Fol. 51<sup>v</sup>:  
The Last Judgment



296. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 1927. Fol. 218<sup>r</sup>:  
Psalm 118



297. STRASBOURG. Hortus Deliciarum of Herrad  
of Landsberg. The Ladder of Virtue (copy)



298. PARIS, BIBL. NAT. Cod. gr. 923. Fol.  
146<sup>r</sup>: John Climacus, John of Damascus, and  
Maximus Confessor

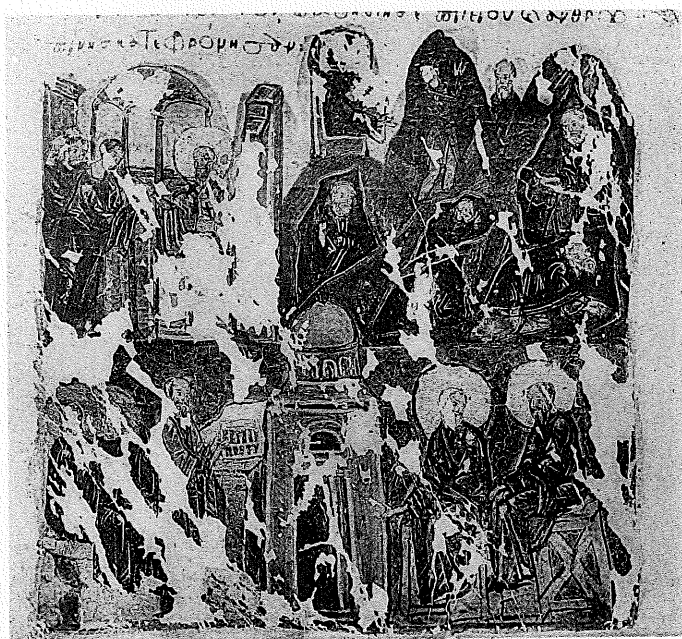




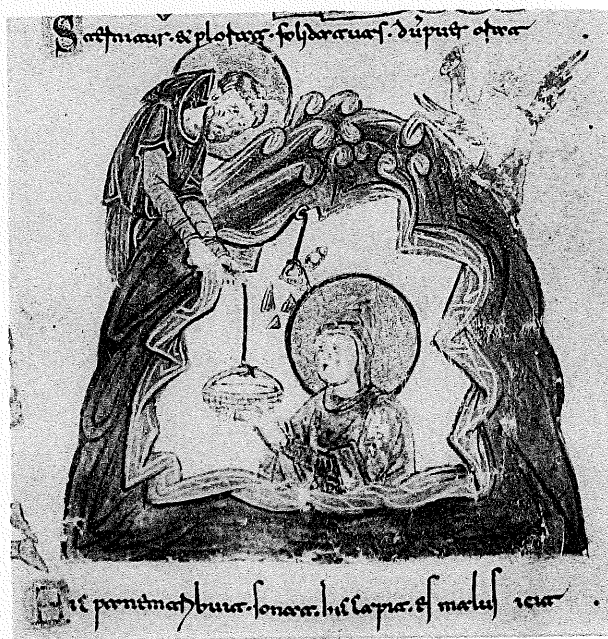
299. VATICAN. Cod. gr. 766. Fol. 2<sup>v</sup>: John Chrysostom and Paul



300. VATICAN, GALLERY. The Death of Ephraim Syrus, by Emmanuele Tzanfournari



301. PARIS, BIBL. NAT. Cod. gr. 1128. Fol. 64<sup>v</sup>: The Life of Monks and Anchorites



302. VATICAN. Cod. lat. 1202. Fol. 2<sup>r</sup>: Benedict as a Hermit

